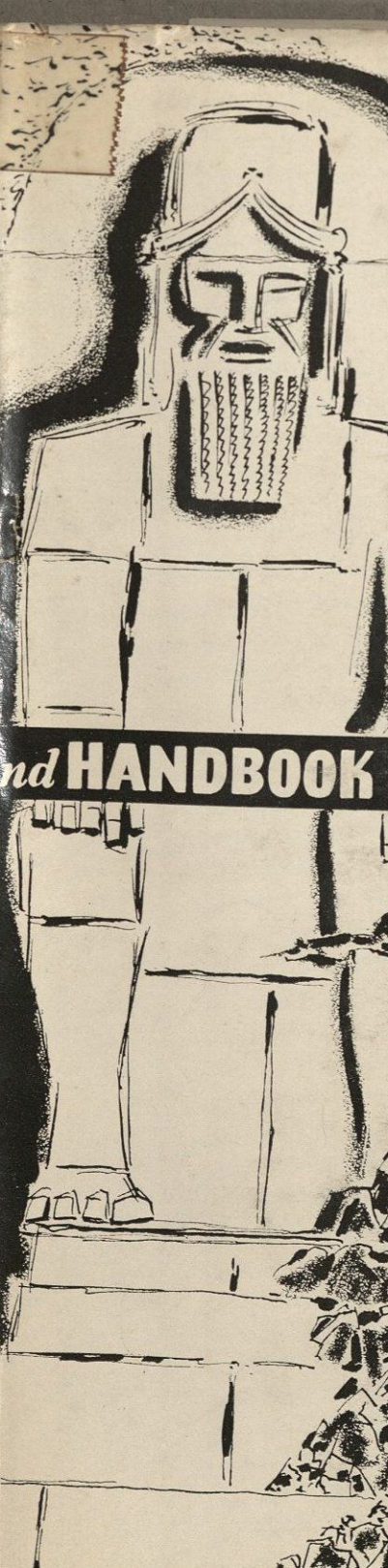
nd HANDBOOK

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A SKEPTIC'S POLITICAL DICTIONARY

By *MAX NOMAD*

In the guise of a satirical glossary, this *Dictionary* and the complementary *Handbook for the Disenchanted* represent the epitome of the political, sociological and philosophical views of a once active non-Communist left-wing radical who has shed his utopian illusions. An apostate, as it were, but not a renegade, he has not turned into a defender of privilege. A liberal and humanitarian in the true sense of the word, he is equally contemptuous of both the sycophants of big business and of the hirelings of the totalitarian upstarts who rule one-third of the world and aspire to take possession of the rest.

In his skepticism or pessimism he visualizes history not as material for moral tales in which virtue triumphs and wickedness is punished, but as an amoral succession of struggles between power-hungry "outs" and power-mad "ins" with the endless substitution of one ruling elite for another. A process, in short, which, in one of his bilious moments, he described as "an ever changing minority of crooks sitting on the back of the never changing majority of dupes." However, those who know him contend that this is only his way of expressing his disappointment with the slow progress made by the underdog in the struggle for a better share in the good things of life.

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REBELS AND RENEGADES

A SKEPTIC'S POLITICAL DICTIONARY

APOSTLES OF REVOLUTION

Co-Author of

EUROPEAN IDEOLOGIES

a skeptic's political dictionary

and Handbook for the Disenchanted

by MAX NOMAD

BOOKMAN ASSOCIATES

NEW YORK

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PRO DOMO

Nearly four decades ago, as a comparatively young immigrant, I read *The Devil's Dictionary* by Ambrose Bierce, the first book in English I had ever opened. I found it to be an amusing repository of quips, a few of them political, sprinkled occasionally with gems of profound insight. To cite one of them: "Politics: A strife of interests masquerading as a contest of principles." That formulation of an idea, not altogether new to me, sank deep into my consciousness; so deep in fact that years later, after my views had crystallized into a sort of "pessimism in sociology" (the term was coined by Robert Michels), I jotted it down as an epigram of my own! It might even have slipped into this volume as such had it not been for the fact that a short time ago I chanced to open Bierce's *Dictionary* exactly to the page it appears and it hit me right between the eyes. I recovered from the shock realizing that this sort of misadventure is as inevitable in the pursuit of wisdom as is an occasional unconscious filching of a few bars of a tune by musical composers, great and small. Unfortunately, such unwitting plagiarisms are overlooked only in giants like La Rochefoucauld, Karl Marx, or Anatole France.

This much as a plea *pro domo* should any one of my readers or critics discover in this book ideas that seem familiar to them and take me to task for not giving credit where it is due. For accidents may happen. But there are also accidents of another sort, viz., readers unfamiliar with my previous writings may be inclined to see in some of my ideas merely a rehash of what is commonly known as "managerialism," a concept which was first presented

in my *Rebels and Renegades* (1932) about ten years preceding the appearance of a book which led to the coining of that term.

It was about the time when I discovered that nasty prank of my memory that I decided to express some of my ideas by borrowing the *form* of Bierce's "Dictionary." However, let it be understood that, aside from occasional points of agreement in the matter of political skepticism, there is nothing in common between the vicious misanthropy of one who would use "grapeshot" against all opponents of capitalist privilege, and the melancholy radicalism of this writer.

I say "melancholy radicalism," for though many of the barbs in this volume are aimed at the so-called radicals and revolutionists of today, my sympathies are by no means with the capitalist status quo. They are nostalgically with the radicals and revolutionists of the past century who, for all their will to power, were tragically conscious of the fact that, as far as they personally were concerned, theirs was a well-nigh hopeless fight. They were romantics, noble adventurers, knights-errant, sectarians, if you will, but not mercenaries or hangers-on of a powerful foreign government whose armies might some day install them in the seats of power.

Those pro-Moscow "liberals" and self-styled revolutionists who would protest that my sarcasm practically amounts to a preference for the old order as against the red wave of the future, should reflect that the "newness" of Nazism was no progress as compared with Prussian semi-feudalism and Catholic clericalism, just as the rule of totalitarian office-holders maintaining their power and their privileges with the help of slave labor camps and mass executions, is by no means an advance over that form of social injustice under which capitalist exploiters share their spoils with corrupt politicians.

This "Dictionary" was jotted down with no intention of grinding an ax in behalf of any political group or school. To be sure, I prefer the Democrats to the Repub-

licans, for I think that in the long run the rule of grafters (there are honorable exceptions) who have adopted social security measures is less objectionable than that of profiteers who are robbing us of billions within the law. I also prefer the democratic Socialists to the totalitarian Communists, for the welfare state coupled with political democracy and a mixed economy which they advocate, offers those guarantees of personal liberty and security which are completely absent under what is mislabeled "Communism." But as a realist, or a "pessimist," for that matter, I am unable to see even in the most democratic combination of public, cooperative and private ownership the elimination of all social conflicts. For the establishment of real, that is, economic equality, will always be prevented by the ever renascent elites of the most intelligent, the most energetic and the most cunning. And their privileges will, in turn, be challenged by the "outs" eager to become "ins" and by the dissatisfied rank and file manual and white collar workers clamoring for a greater share of the good things of life.

This vista of a permanent three-cornered struggle may not be very cheering to political adolescents and sentimentalists of all ages dreaming of a "classless" millennium, as their sires had dreamt of salvation and celestial bliss. But then—I am not in the business of selling sweet illusions. I leave that to the professionals of politics and religion. My own modest ambition is merely to help those few decent people, in the words of Chamfort, who may be hiding somewhere, to see clearly through the political double talk of yesterday, today and the threatening tomorrow.

M. N.

New York, May 1953.

A

ABOLITION OF CLASSES—The egalitarian dream of nineteenth century socialists. East of the Iron Curtain it was fulfilled by the revolutionary creation of a brand-new aristocracy of office-holders, managers and army officers, while on John Bull's main island the champions of the working class chose the more civilized method of gradually filling the House of Lords with proletarian peers.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—The measure which transformed the American Negro into a full-fledged citizen. Its implementation had the effect of making some educated members of the emancipated race more susceptible to propaganda for another form of slavery which draws no color line between its victims.

ABSOLUTISM—A regime tempered either by epigrams, as in eighteenth century France, or by assassination, as in nineteenth century Tsarist Russia. In the twentieth century the latter method became inapplicable, murder having become the exclusive monopoly of the Soviet Government. *See* EPIGRAM.

ABSURDITY—What to particularly refined minds and sensitive souls is more objectionable than injustice or cruelty. Professor Gilbert Murray reveals that G.B.S. was not actuated by sympathy for human suffering, "but more by the absurdity of the institutions that caused that suffering." This helps to explain Shaw's unconcern about the victims of Stalin's totalitarianism. There is little about the ancient institution of slavery that can be called absurd.

ACTIVIST—In Communist politics, a member of that branch of the Kremlin's civilian army outside the Iron Curtain which consists chiefly of more or less innocent fanatics. To be distinguished from the mere sympathizer who is in most cases a more or less fanatical innocent. The paid functionaries and leaders are not included in either of these two groups. There is nothing either innocent or fanatical about them.

ADOPTION—The name—more precisely "child adoption" —given in Ceylon to the institution of slavery. It is apparently by a converse process of reasoning that the U.S.S.R. has adopted Stalin as the Father of its peoples.

AFFINITY—The close kinship of those who—like the Fascists and the Communists—are sometimes enemies because of the similarity of their appetites, as a French bon mot of 1848 had it.

AGENT—A political opponent. To Cromwell, the democratic Levellers were agents of the Stuarts. To Robespierre, the Dantonists and the Hébertists were agents of the Bourbons, of Austria and of England. To Marx, Bakunin was an agent of the Tsar. To the British, during World War I, Kerensky, the head of the Russian Provisional Government (1917) was a German agent because the Russian soldiers were unwilling to fight. To Kerensky, Lenin was likewise a German agent. To Trotsky, the rebellious sailors of Kronstadt (1921) were agents of the monarchists because they demanded democratic elections to the Soviets. To Stalin, Trotsky and his followers, who opposed the unlimited power of the Man of Steel, were agents and saboteurs in the service of the Nazis. To Hitler, Stalin was an agent of the Jews. Yet for all the abuse of the term, "agent" remains the only proper designation for the present-day professional Communists in the service of Moscow.

ALCHEMY—The search for the philosopher's stone which would transmute the base ingredients of greed and lust for power into the gold of utopian justice and freedom.

ALIAS—A device for concealing one's identity. The tyrants of today insist on calling themselves revolutionists. It helps to discredit the very idea of revolution in the minds of disinterested idealists who would be ready to rise against them.

ALIBI—A plausible excuse. In trying to prove that the Bolshevik regime was a "dictatorship of the working class" and not of the Communist Party, Stalin argued (*Ob Oppozitzii* p. 269) that in Lenin's works "the formula 'dictatorship of the party' is used but very rarely." There was a girl who insisted that she had not lost her virginity since her baby was so very, very tiny.

"ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS"—The equivalent of "All good jobs to our party members."

ALTRUISM—Minding the other fellow's business with a vengeance. In a speech praising the Soviet regime, Joseph E. Davies, former American Ambassador to the USSR, defined Soviet philosophy as "based upon altruism and centering on the betterment and development of the individual." We recall that a certain institution burned heretics exclusively for the good of their souls.

AMBITION—The main driving force of every man engaged in politics—whether "legitimate" or revolutionary. As a rule it determines the choice of his "principles"—just as, according to Schopenhauer, the poet, in most cases, is more interested in finding an idea that will fit the rhyme than the other way around.

AMERICAN CREDO—The amalgam of prejudices of ninety per cent of the voters who hold that Negroes are a subhuman species who cannot be permitted to use the same ocean beaches as Whites; that Jews are congenital crooks; that G.I.'s of Mexican origin, though killed in action for the U.S.A., are unworthy of burial in Texas; that Nisei with the highest military honors, have not earned the right to make a living in Western states; that Catholics are disqualified to fill a post to which a Harding could be elected; and that janitors shall reside

and the homes of a thousand smaller Morgans will become "entertainment and recreation centers" for the elite of American Communists as well. The American workers will remain in their tenement houses, but they will "own" the mansions of their new masters—just as they will "own" the industries.

ANTI-COMMUNIST—Any one opposed to the Kremlin crowd either because of its hostility to capitalist privilege or because of its threat to civil and cultural liberty. The policies and prejudices of those in the first group are the Kremlin's invisible weapon for the conquest of Asia and Africa.

"ANTI-MACHIAVELLI"—The book with which Voltaire's crowned Prussian friend attempted to cover up his own Machiavellianism. There are those who suspect that Lenin's book against Imperialism has served the same need of his successors.

ANTI-SEMITISM—1.The amnesia of those who, having read all of Shakespeare and Dickens, remember only two villains: Shylock and Fagin; and who know that of the twelve Apostles only Judas was a Jew. 2. The belief that the wealth of the rich Gentile is a gift of God, while the prosperity of the rich Jew is evidence that he has been cheating his Christian neighbors. 3. The conviction that only the believers in the gospel of love and human brotherhood have the right to cheat their neighbors. 4. The Kremlin's Propaganda H-Bomb Model 1952-1953.

APOLOGIST—1. A man who, if he is a militant Catholic, has never heard of the Inquisition, yet defends its exploits as absolutely necessary for protecting the world against being overrun by murderous cults "worse than voodooism at its worst," as one of the apologists put it. 2. A man who, if he is a Communist, indignantly denies the existence of slave labor camps, yet just as indignantly derides as excessively exaggerated the number of internees in those camps.

APPLE-SELLING—The perfect substitute for social security, the latter, according to America's leading Republican statesmen, being detrimental to human dignity.

ASCETICISM—Abstention from pleasure usually advocated by champions of noble ideals. After the Bolshevik Revolution the new masters of Russia refused to pay the workers higher real wages, lest this delay the process of the country's industrialization necessary for the triumph of communism the world over. The Communist office-holders and managers merely forgot to include their own salaries in this noble adventure in revolutionary asceticism.

ASS—A mammal which is really not such an ass, for the Arabs say that "the camel is sorry for the man who falls off its back, while the donkey laughs in his heart." The majority of the human race might take a hint from this humble fellow creature.

ASSASSINATION, POLITICAL—A tactic which the Communists do not believe in and have never used. For there is a great difference between assassination and liquidation. Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Walter Krivitzky, Ignace Reiss, and Leon Trotsky would have admitted this themselves had they not been fascist spies who either kidnapped themselves, or "committed suicide," or were "killed by their own followers."

ASSIMILATION—A proposed solution of the Jewish problem, persistently rejected by the majority of those concerned because they apparently believe that permanent discrimination and occasional massacres are preferable to a change of sky-pilots, prayer books and dietary customs.

ASTROLOGY—One of the major exact sciences within the reach of the masses. During World War II about four out of ten readers of the British daily press were devouring the astrological predictions of the specialists in this field. Comes the Revolution, and Lysenko's genetics will replace astrology.

ASYLUM, POLITICAL—An obsolescent institution, now respected only—as a mutual life insurance device—by Latin American embassies in Latin America where every political "in" of today may be a violently unseated "out" tomorrow.

ATHEISM—A philosophy of free thought most vociferously advocated by an intolerant neo-theocracy which has replaced God by the infallible deified Leader.

ATOM SPY—1. An innocent person framed for the purpose of discrediting the Communist Party. 2. A person who committed no betrayal (a) because the U.S.S.R. to which he gave the information was entitled to it being a friend and an ally of the U.S.A. and not its enemy; (b) because the U.S.S.R. had that information anyhow. There are 23,000 persons in the United States who pay ten cents daily to be thus enlightened by the *Daily Worker*.

AUTHORITY—The power to impose one's will upon one's fellow men. Under slavery authority implies absolute power over the lives of one's chattels. Under feudalism —the mastery over the liberty and the land of those tilling it. Under theocracy—the absolute control over the subjects' brains. Under capitalism—the appropriation of the major part of the workers' labor. Under what the "Communists" call socialism and communism —the absolute power over their life and liberty, the appropriation of all the fruits of their labor, and the airtight control over their brains. It is the authority to end all authority.

AUTONOMY—One of the many aspects of liberty. In feudal Spain, the municipal gallows erected in the market place was the symbol of local autonomy. In modern America there are those who see the symbol of autonomous States' rights in the federally undisturbed pastime of lynching. In the USSR an "Autonomous Republic" can be decreed out of existence and all its inhabitants

"transferred" to Siberia by a simple decision of the Politbureau or of its substitute.

B

BAIT—The promise of the moon. Marx's collaborator Engels wrote that each bourgeois revolution of the past two centuries had to go at its outset somewhat beyond its essential aim of securing the rule of the rising capitalist class. There are those who suspect that the so-called "emancipation of the working class" proclaimed by the Bolsheviks was also "somewhat beyond the essential aim" of the modern neo-bourgeois revolutions of would-be office-holders and managers. Behind the Iron Curtain it is advisable not to voice that suspicion.

BARGAIN—Swapping the sympathies of a few hundred highbrows lost by the Prague trials, for the support of a few million lowbrows won over by the same performance.

BASTARD—An idealist in action. "To be a first class bastard," wrote Samuel Spewack, "you must be a first class idealist. Once you are convinced you are operating for the ultimate benefit of humanity, there is no limit to your potential villainy." Yes, nothing is too ignoble for the realization of a noble ideal.

BEAU GESTE—A term introduced in 1893 into radical terminology by the French ultra-revolutionary poet Laurent Tailhade when he declared that "the victims do not matter so long as the gesture is beautiful." He had in mind the bomb thrown into the French Chamber of Deputies by an Anarchist bent upon suicide and longing for immortality. Today's ultra-revolutionists of the Communist camp do not believe in killing for the sake of a beautiful gesture. Nor do they throw bombs into parliaments. They merely disperse them and fill them with their appointed stooges.

BELIEVER—A person who enjoys being deceived. William James and Henri Bergson believed in the sincerity of the spiritualist medium Eusapia Palladino. The world's greatest physicist once seemed to believe in Stalin's democratic and pacifist intentions. A well-known "liberal" radio commentator once said that he "should rather believe in something and be wrong than not believe in it and be right." He believed that the USSR had a democratic regime.

BETTER DAY—The terrestrial "pie-in-the-sky" held out to the underdog to bolster his patience and endurance. In the USSR the masses are making sacrifices for that "better day" when the victorious Soviet armies will have reduced the rest of the world to the Russian standard of living.

BILL OF RIGHTS—What both the Fascist and the Communist regimes grant their subjects. It is beside the point that in Falangist Spain the article of the Constitution vouchsafing the right to express one's ideas has been suspended indefinitely, while in the U.S.S.R. all the liberties granted in the Constitution, in the words of Stalin, "leave unchanged the present leading position [read: dictatorship, M. N.] of the Communist Party."

BIRTH CONTROL—An obscene attempt at interference with nature's or God's way of preventing over-population through pestilence, war and starvation. Behind the Iron Curtain it is advocated by the enemies of the working class who want to reduce the number of soldiers destined to emancipate the world proletariat. In the United States it is preached by the enemies of the true faith who want to prevent the Catholics from outbreeding the Protestants and from raising this country to the cultural level of Portugal.

BLANQUISM—Nineteenth century conspiratorial and insurrectionary school of socialism. It was headed by Auguste Blanqui who spent nearly four decades in

various prisons for organizing uprisings against his country's undemocratic regimes before and after 1848. The USSR would not have inflicted so much suffering upon a human being. The GPU would have shot him after his first try.

BLIND SPOT—A visual defect which never prevents those afflicted with it from clearly discerning it in the views of their political opponents.

BLOOD—"A juice of a special kind" in the words of Goethe's Mephistopheles. Stalin's message thanking Ribbentrop for his birthday greetings, voiced the hope that "the friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented in blood, will long endure." It was the blood of the Poles whose country had just been invaded by, and partitioned between, the signatories of the Berlin-Moscow Pact.

BLOOD BOND—The administrative cement used by native African and Asian rulers who allegedly have a wife in every village one of whose sons invariably becomes the local chieftain. No such polygamous indecency is permitted in Eastern or Central Europe. There the only bond connecting the Rakosis, the Gottwalds and the Ulbrichts with the supreme ruler in Moscow is the blood of their critics and dissenters.

BOLSHEVISM—"Bolshevism is merely a method of preserving power in the hands of the —Bolshevists." This simple definition, written by an obscure Menshevik critic on the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, contains more truth on the subject than four score volumes by Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin.

BRAIN—An "inhibitory organ" according to Victor Adler, the brilliant and skeptical leader of the Austrian Socialists. That's why the poor in spirit are so uninhibited about sacrificing their lives for noble causes.

BREEDING—That which makes a man of culture dealing with religion or politics dwell exclusively upon their

purely doctrinal or ideological aspects. Only a barbarian like Kemal Ataturk could say that "at bottom the substance of all religions has meant merely a livelihood for priests." The great Turkish patriot wisely refrained from enlarging upon the substance of politics and of the military calling.

BUREAURACY—"A social class [in Russia] which is every bit as distinct from the masses as the English nobility is from the cockneys," wrote Walter Graebner in the friendly account he gave of the USSR in 1943. Walter Duranty, whose apologias for Stalin were once popular with fellow travelers, in quoting this sentence, said that he "cannot wholly disagree with it." And he likewise characterized as true the statement "that a new 'ruling class' has arisen in Russia." Otherwise the Bolshevik revolution has realized the great ideal of a "classless society."

BUREAUCRAT—1. Under capitalism a junior partner of the property owning classes. 2. Behind the Iron Curtain a member of the One-Big-Trust of office-holders and managers which collectively owns the wealth of the countries ruled by the Kremlin. 3. According to the Marxists, the eternal underdog who always serves either as a flunkey of the property owners under capitalism or as a servant of the people under socialism.

BUSINESS CYCLE—The boom and bust sequence unknown under the planned economy of "Communism" under which there is only permanent depression.

BUTTER—A food item that is beyond the reach of the ordinary worker in Soviet Russia. Its absence is compensated by the fact that caviar is very cheap in the workers' republic. In fact, it is as cheap as—butter.

C

CAIN—The name of the rich brother, according to Oscar Wilde. Comes the revolution of the poor, and the name of the rich brother is Communist.

CAMPAIGN PROMISE—The only commodity whose price cannot be substantially affected by inflation. It will always remain cheaper than the paper on which it was written.

CANDOR—Frank admission of dishonorable intentions. In *The State and the Church* the Catholic liberal Mgr. J. A. Ryan envisioned the possibility of the United States eventually becoming a Catholic state which "could not permit them [the non-Catholic sects] to carry on general propaganda nor accord their organizations certain privileges that had formerly been extended to all religious corporations." In his *Toward Soviet America* (1932) William Z. Foster, leader of the American Communist Party, was likewise candid when he wrote that "under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive [the Theodore Roosevelt and Robert LaFollette "Progressives"], Socialist, etc., will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses." Aside from this both Catholic clergymen and Communist leaders are sincere champions of democracy and tolerance.

CAPITALISM—An insulting term invented by radicals who claim that there is exploitation in the countries which believe in free enterprise. *See* EUPHEMISM.

CAPITALIST ECONOMICS—The "organization of misery" according to a century-old phrase of the French radical thinker Proudhon. There are those who think that mankind has little to gain by choosing the proposed

"Communist" alternative which to misery adds the organization of slavery.

CAPITALIST JUSTICE—Excessive preoccupation with private property rights. In the 1930's, a fifteen-year sentence was meted out in the State of Washington to a man convicted of having stolen a piece of bread. At about the same time a woman who had stolen a few chocolate bars from a Leningrad state factory and had tried to sell them on the black market, was condemned to death. That was proletarian justice. The American sentence was severely criticized in the United States and later reversed. The Soviet sentence was also criticized—in the United States.

CAREER OPEN TO TALENT—A slogan coined by Napoleon. Wendell Willkie found it to be the guiding principle of the USSR where, in the words of Walter Lippmann, "men can rise from the bottom to the top by their own exertions, and obtain honors, wealth, position and power." Provided, of course, their talent includes the gift of always agreeing with their superiors and of stepping into their shoes after helping to purge them.

CASHING IN—If you cash in on the sale of the Brooklyn Bridge, you are a confidence man. If you cash in on the sale of reserved seats in Heaven, you are a clergyman. If you cash in on the sale of a full dinner pail in Utopia, you are a Communist.

CEREMONIAL OFFERING—Part of the ritual of some primitive or ancient religions whose divinities are propitiated by blood and incense, while their priests take for themselves only the meat of the sacrificial animals. Similarly, the ritual of modern revolutions offers the incense of flattery and the blood of aristocrats, capitalists, Jews or political dissenters to the divine People or the divine Proletariat, whose leaders are content with the mansions, the limousines and the caviar of the former masters.

CHATTEL SLAVERY—"The oldest, the best and the most common form of socialism," according to George Fitzhugh (1807-1881). In the view of this theoretical apologist of the Southern slave economy, who was in dead earnest, slavery was the most equitable form of socialism, because the slaves, being paid no wages which might be unequal if based on ability, were actually rewarded—according to need. So are also the workers in Lenin's and Stalin's "higher phase of communism" —except that under the latter, the "needs" are determined not by the hereditary slave owners, but by the self-perpetuating office-holding and managerial oligarchy.

CHAUVINISM—The national megalomania characteristic of our neighbors or enemies. Most Americans are altogether exempt from this mental flaw. They believe that "all men are created equal" and that therefore men of Anglo-Saxon, Nordic or Celtic descent like themselves are the salt of the earth.

CHOSEN PEOPLE—What most members of the human race think their own ethnical or political group to be. It was left for the ancient priesthood of that group which is famed for its alleged cleverness to contribute to the hilarity of all other groups by putting it down in sacred writing.

CHRISTIANITY—A religion whose preachers and communicants are for the most part about as truly Christian as the preachers and practitioners of "Communism" are truly communist. *See* FAITH AND FACT, p. 142.

CHURCHES NEAR BY—A phrase frequently occurring in American hotel advertising but never encountered abroad. Which would prove that the United States is the only really God-fearing and God-worshiping country. Only those suffering from an incurable persecution complex can claim that this expression is merely a euphemism for "Jewish guests not wanted."

CIRCULATION OF ELITES—The term coined by Vilfredo Pareto to convey the idea that the historical process consists in the endless substitution of one ruling elite for another. This view which is also the leitmotiv of the works of Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels, has been indignantly rejected as unduly cynical by all would-be successors of the old elites. *See* MARCH OF CIVILIZATION.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS—The mentality of a have-not endowed with sufficient cunning, energy and gift of gab for becoming a trade union leader, a labor politician or a commissar. In short, of a man so devoted to his class that he uses the first opportunity to jump out of it. *See* TRADE UNION LEADER.

CLASSLESS SOCIETY—The utopian dream of a society of equals which, we are told, has at last come true in Russia. Until the middle of the 1930's there were still two classes in that country: those who had the right to vote for Stalin's single ticket, and those who were deprived of that right. Now the Constitution guarantees to every Soviet citizen the right to vote for Stalin and his henchmen.

CLASS STRUGGLE—A conflict of interests between "haves" and "have-nots" and "ins" and "outs," whose existence is usually denied by those whose privileges are under attack. According to General Franco the Spanish civil war was not a class struggle but "a contest between the forces of good and evil," between good Spaniards and "people who have been misled by both Marxist and internationalist ideas." According to Stalin, there is in Russia no antagonism between the newly rich all-powerful office-holders on the one hand, and the underpaid, disfranchised workers and peasants on the other, but merely a contest between the free and happy Soviet People and the ubiquitous Trotskyite, Titoist and Zionist spies paid by Nazi, British and American imperialists.

CLERICALISM—A term non-existent in the Catholic vocabulary. When used, it stands for the slanderous allegation that the Church is aspiring to power or to political influence in any country.

COLONIALISM — A system of long-range philanthropy usually misunderstood and unappreciated by its beneficiaries who often are prone to believe that they do not receive the same treatment as the nationals of their benefactors. The USSR alone among all nations is beyond reproach in this respect. For a satellite country is not a colony, considering that the six hundred million inhabitants of Russia's European and Asiatic dependencies could not possibly enjoy fewer political rights than do the two-hundred million subjects of the USSR.

"COMING SLAVERY"—*See* INSPIRATION.

COMMON MAN—The symbol of democracy, who has a heart of pure gold, even though he does not always show it. In a report about the life of a Nisei war hero one reads that "after fifty-eight missions, after the Distinguished Flying Cross and a chestful of other medals, he was still a lousy Jap, snubbed by hotel clerks and barred from restaurants."

"COMMON CAUSE"—1. In the opinion of the French Socialist President Auriol (1952) the defense of French colonial rule in Asia and Africa by all non-Communist countries. 2. In the opinion of the Russian Communist Prime Minister the defense of Russian expansionism by all the workers of the world.

COMMUNAZI—The short-lived sobriquet bestowed upon the Communists during their alliance with Hitler (1939-1941). There are those who suggested its resurrection after the Prague Trials of 1952, when Jewish Communist scapegoats and the phantom of an international Jewish capitalist conspiracy were blamed for Czechoslovakia's economic difficulties brought about by her "trade relations" with [read: exploitation by] the U.S.S.R. *See* TRADE RELATIONS.

COMMUNISM—1. The sum total of Marxist and Leninist phrases used in justification of Stalin's latest move for the preservation and extension of his power at home and abroad. 2. The déclassé's hope for revenge through a tyranny of his own, when the struggle seems hopeful, as distinguished from the libertarian gospel of anarchism which he sometimes professes when the struggle appears hopeless. 3. The fascism of some who, because of their "racial" handicaps, have no access to the genuine article. 4. Abolition of the capitalists' profits for the purpose of distributing them, in the form of high salaries, among the bureaucratic and managerial elite. 5.A system of full equality that, according to the Communists, will replace the present economic setup of the USSR which, they claim, is merely "socialism." The transition to *full equality* is miraculously expected to be the fruition of an *ever growing inequality of incomes*. He who fails to grasp the logic of this reasoning will see the light only after a lifelong study of Dialectical Materialism.

COMMUNIST—1. A man not to be judged hastily. He may turn out to be a stoolpigeon for the F.B.I. rather than a spy for the M.V.D. 2. One who believes that political liberty, though granted by non-Communists to Communists, should not be granted by Communists to non-Communists. 3. One who believes that a full dinner pail is better than the right of free speech, and that therefore those who get impatient about the absence of the former under "Communism" should be deprived of the right to complain about it.

COMMUNIST DEMOCRACY—A system under which General Secretary Stalin (or his successor) appoints all district secretaries of the Communist Party. The district secretaries appoint all delegates to the Communist Party conventions. All delegates to the Communist Party conventions unanimously elect Stalin—or his successor—as General Secretary. That is, on those rare occasions when a party convention is held.

COMMUNIST PARTY—An organization consisting of two sets of members: Those who believe the stories about the Finns having invaded Russia in 1939 and about Leon Trotsky having been a Nazi agent and having been murdered by one of his own followers; and those who tell those stories. There is full equality within the organization: the intelligence of the first set is on a par with the ethics of the second.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY—First phase: Gathering a militant minority of radicals who are attracted by the advocacy of anticapitalism, birth control (including legalized abortion), easy divorce, hostility to religion, internationalism, anti-patriotism, anti-imperialism and anti-racialism. Second phase: Trying to win the conservative majority by making concessions to all its traditional concepts and prejudices including national megalomania and anti-Semitism. Third phase: Framing and liquidating the champions of the first phase as "counter-revolutionists," "enemies of the people," "spies," and "Jewish bourgeois nationalists." Fourth phase: Conquest of the world by exploiting the racialism and the colonialism of the Western powers.

COMPANY UNION — The only form of organization to which workers can and must belong under Fascism and "Communism."

COMPATIBILITY—The reconciliation of irreconcilable opposites. According to Pierre Bayle, rich and poor alike found it possible both to believe in the religion in which they were brought up and to practice all the vices which it forbids. That was in the seventeenth century. In the twentieth century the champions of the poor find it possible both to call themselves Communists and to defend the crassest inequalities of income which are in strict contradiction to the idea of communism.

COMPENSATION—What one gets for parting with something which is either more or less valuable than the

"equivalent" received. In the USSR it takes the average worker several months' wages to buy an overcoat. However, he is not without compensation. He owns the factory in which he works. At least, so his paper tells him. And he owns that paper, too. This, too, he learns from his paper.

COMPROMISE—A settlement which, we read somewhere, is possible, if the disagreement is one of principle, but which is hard to arrive at if it concerns jobs or offices. Hence it was easier for Stalin to make peace (1939) with Hitler, whose principles, in the words of Molotov, were merely "a matter of taste," than to come to an understanding with Trotsky whose will to power was not at all to Stalin's taste.

COMRADE PISTOL—The only speaker carrying weight in revolutionary times. "You have the floor, Comrade Pistol," said the Bolshevik poet Mayakovsky in one of his famous poems written during the civil war. However, when it became clear that Comrade Pistol alone could have the floor in post-revolutionary Russia as well, the poet turned Comrade Pistol against himself.

CONCLAVE—The meeting called by the Cardinals upon the death of the Pope for the election of his successor. An American lady once shocked the Pontiff by innocently and ignorantly expressing the desire to be present at a Conclave. On her subsequent visit to Moscow she was advised against asking Stalin when he would call free elections.

CONFESSION—Behind the Iron Curtain the alternative to torture and the extermination of one's family. Writing about the Moscow Trials in 1937, Jerome Davis, an author not distinguished by anti-Kremlin bias, stated that "this does not necessarily mean that they were guilty of *everything* (my emphasis M.N.) charged." Yet they *confessed to everything* charged—apparently in order not to embarrass their prosecutor.

CONQUEST—The prime mover of history and glorious foundation of all civilized societies.

CONTRADICTION IN TERMS — An obvious incongruity which, as a rule, is not obvious to the general public. Those who have monopolized the Communist label have established inequality of incomes, i.e., the very opposite of communism, as the basis of their social system. Time was when the popularity of the socialist label in France called forth such oddities as candidates of ultra-capitalist parties running for parliament on the platform of "anti-collectivist socialism"—even though "collectivism" is a synonym for "socialism."

CONVERSION—A genuine change of opinion greatly facilitated by the alternative offered to political dissenters by the "friendly governments" established after World War II on the borders of the USSR.

COOK—A lowly, often illiterate, domestic servant made famous by Lenin's slogan, launched at the outset of the Revolution of 1917, to the effect that soon "every cook will be able to attend to the affairs of state." A new generation of cooks has grown up since, but they keep cooking for the Communist office-holders.

CO-OWNERSHIP—Partnership among equals, like that existing between a worker owning five and a tycoon owning fifty thousand shares in the same concern. According to the Communists all Soviet citizens—whether villa-owning office-holders or slum-dwelling laborers —are "co-owners" of the country's "nationalized" wealth.

CORRUPTION—The melancholy climax of all noble causes. The humanitarian gospel of the early Christians blossomed into the inhumanity of the Inquisition. The democratic protest against Bourbon feudalism culminated in the imperialism of Napoleon and the monopoly capitalism of the two hundred families. And the "proletarian" revolt led by the stepsons of the bourgeoisie

resulted in the totalitarianism of upstart bureaucrats. To the non-Leninist Marxist this endless cavalcade of human baseness is no cause for pessimism. On the contrary, it is a welcome confirmation of his "dialectical" concept of evolution through a succession of opposites —except of course, that this process will come to a stop as soon a real Marxists of his kind obtain power.

COSSACKS—Once the free peasants of the Ukrainian and south Russian steppes, often in revolt against the Polish and Russian nobility, they gradually evolved from the original Eastern European revolutionists into the Tsar's most faithful and ruthless defenders. Today the "revolutionists" of the West are the most faithful Cossacks of the Neo-Tsarism of Eurasia.

COUNTERFEITING—The application of the principle of free competition to the monetary system, to objects of art, etc. It is legally permitted only in the field of ideas, "Communism" with a capital "C" being sold to the poor in spirit as the genuine article.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONIST—An opponent of the Bolshevik counter-revolution against the democratic regime established by the Provisional Government after the downfall of the Tsarist system.

"CREEPING SOCIALISM"—Any pro-labor measure adopted by a Democratic administration. It is the 58th variety of socialism, invented and christened by the Republicans.

CRETIN—A word into whose etymological origin a true believer should not try to delve by referring to the big Webster or any other dictionary of the same class. In the U.S.S.R. that word would be applicable to any one who, having found out that "communism" stands for "equal sharing" should try to communicate that idea even to his closest friends.

CRIME—A line of endeavor in which independent, free enterprise is frowned upon—even in the countries

which otherwise extol the virtues of individualism. To be safe and profitable it must be carried on on a semi-socialistic basis, as it were, that is, as a "mixed company" in partnership with the organs of law and order.

CROOKED POLITICS—A pleonasm.

CUI BONO?—Who benefits by it? The first question that should be asked whenever a new gospel makes its appearance. "Give us an organization of professional revolutionists," said Lenin, "and we shall turn Russia upside down." For the benefit of the professional revolutionists, that is.

D

DEAD MEN ON FURLOUGH—A designation claimed for themselves by the Western would-be emulators of Lenin and Trotsky shortly after the Bolshevik coup. That term is no longer popular among the Communists now entrenched in power behind the Iron Curtain. For the dead men on furlough are now exclusively among those who have the temerity to oppose them. *See* TRAP.

DECAPITATION—A messy method of liquidation still practiced by the French in honor of the glorious traditions of the Great Revolution. The Great Russian Revolution has inaugurated a new era of humanism by substituting a tiny bullet for the big unwieldly blade of the guillotine.

DECLASSE—The less privileged or underprivileged descendant of the upper, middle or lower middle classes. Under feudalism the younger sons of the noble families would become either robber barons or clergymen. In our days again the luckless and jobless sons of the lower middle classes become robber barons and clergymen by holding up entire nations and forcing upon them the new religions of Fascism or Communism.

DEMOCRACY — An ideal system which, whenever and wherever it is supposed to have existed, has been as genuinely a "rule by the people" as aristocracy has been the "rule by the best," and as "proletarian dictatorship" is the rule by the working class. There are those who maintain that at bottom what is called democracy is merely the mask for the rule of capitalist and/or bureaucratic minorities over an ignorant and deceived majority whose franchise signifies only the right to choose or to change its masters. The proponents of this concept who claim to be realists, are of course cynics and should not be taken seriously. *(See* AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, COMMUNIST DEMOCRARY, DIRECTED DEMOCRACY, INTER-AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY).

DEMOCRATIC PARTY—One of the two gigantic trusts of office-holders and office-seekers who share with the property-owners the wealth produced by the American people. It differs from its Republican competitor in that its leaders are primarily politicians and only secondarily partners of big business. The Republicans show these characteristics in reverse. That's why the Democrats are more prone to vote for laws benefiting the underdog whose vote they need for plying their political trade. This does not refer to the Southern wing of the party which is still inspired with the romantic ideals of our glorious past and which will make no concessions to the unreasonable demands of the greedy rabble—whether black or white.

DENUNCIATION—An act of protest against injustice. In 1946 the Soviet press denounced the restrictions upon the workers' right to strike—in Japan. At exactly the same time the Vatican denounced religious intolerance —east of the Iron Curtain.

DESPOTISM—"A state of affairs," according to Chamfort, who wrote during the French Revolution, "where the superior is vile and the subordinate debased." There

is nothing new under the sun in the matter of political wisdom. Except that, instead of despotism, we use the word dictatorship.

DEPRESSION—According to the late Cardinal Hayes, a phenomenon that aids religion, while "prosperity... has to some extent abetted a negligence of our people in respect to religion." One can't help admiring those selfless men who, throughout the ages, in order to aid religion, were jeopardizing their own salvation by taking upon themselves alone the sinful burden of prosperity.

DEVOLUTION—Evolution in the wrong direction. Time was when the word "Magi" evoked the idea of priests, philosophers, tutors of kings and keepers of sacred things. But when the days of their glory vanished, the same name was eventually applied to fortune tellers, jugglers and magicians. Time was, too, when "revolutionist" stood for progress, liberty, heroism and selfless devotion. Today, in most cases, it stands for agent, rabble-rouser and gangster in the pay of Moscow.

DIALECTICAL APPROACH—The Communist term for expediency. First the Russian Communists worked for world revolution in order to save the Soviet Republic. Later they paid lip service to world revolution in order to justify their clinging to power despite their restoration of many aspects of capitalism during the NEP period. Still later, in the days of the "Popular Front" and the anti-Nazi-collective security period of the 1930's they openly renounced the idea of world revolution for the sake of the security of the Soviet Union whose existence was necessary to the world proletariat, because the USSR was the chief outpost of—world revolution. Still later, they again took up the idea of world revolution when they formed an alliance with Nazi Germany, whose hostility during the preceding period had induced them to give up world revolution in exchange for an alliance with the democracies. Then they gave it up

again for a while, and so on, and so on. The Stalinists call it the application of dialectical materialism to political ethics and world politics.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM—The secret and sacred language of orthodox Marxism, incomprehensible to its priesthood and laity alike. In his "Testament" Lenin called Bukharin "the greatest theorist of our party," adding, however, a mild rebuke to the effect that "he never understood dialectics." Considering that dialectics is the basis of Marxist philosophy, one might similarly praise as a great theologian one whose only shortcoming was skepticism about the existence of God.

DICTATOR—1. A man more concerned with cutting off the heads of his competitors than with filling the stomachs of the poor. It is easier and less expensive. Besides, the poor ye always have with you. 2. A man closely akin to a physician. He, too, usually buries his mistakes.

DICTATORSHIP'S THREE VARIETIES—*Military Dictatorship*: where the bouncer, having imposed himself as the partner of the madam, bullies the entire establishment and might in turn be bumped off by another gentleman of the same calling. *Fascist Dictatorship*: where the barker is the senior partner, sharing the profits with the bouncer, while tolerating madam who remains the titular owner. The girls are told that they are the salt of the earth. *"Proletarian Dictatorship:"* Where the barker and the bouncer, who are twin brothers, force the dispossessed madam to scrub the floors of her former property. The girls who have to serve more customers without extra pay, are told that *they* own the establishment.

DICTIONARY—A humble piece of equipment persistently snubbed and neglected. "For two thousand years," Rémy de Gourmont says in his *Promenades Philosophiques*, "Christianity, mocking impudently the meaning of words, has been telling us 'life is death, death is life.' It is time to consult the dictionary." It is also

time to send, if not to the dictionary, at least to the beloved country of their admiration, those of our intellectuals who tell us that political democracy is in reality a dictatorship, while a totalitarian dictatorship is a higher form of democracy.

DILEMMA—1. The twin horns on which, in a democracy, every party is gored. If its leaders—to put it mildly—profiteer too much, they may lose the next election. If they don't profiteer, then what was the use of having won the election? 2. The situation confronting every uprising of the underdog. If spontaneous, the lack of leadership invariably results in its defeat. If organized, the appetites of, and the betrayal by the victorious revolutionary elite sooner or late result in another uprising—either spontaneous or organized. And so on *ad infinitum.*

DIRECTED DEMOCRACY—French Communist synonym for "People's Democracy" and euphemism for Communist Dictatorship.

DISAPPEARANCE—The future held out to all evil and all evildoers by the professional optimist and apologist of good causes. In spinning his "classless" dream an American pro-Soviet correspondent once expressed the idea that in the course of time the Russian Communist Party would disappear, for apparently no political party would be necessary where there were no antagonistic classes. Decades have passed since that prediction, but thus far only the opponents and the critics of the Communist Party have disappeared.

DISCRIMINATION—An American pattern of behavior altogether unknown behind the Iron Curtain, where all critics and opponents of the regime are exterminated regardless of race, creed or color.

DOMESTIC SERVANT—Member of a category of workers slated to disappear after the "proletarian revolution." For in the "classless" concept of nineteenth century

socialism the existence of servants after the abolition of capitalism would be as incongruous as a slaughter-house in a vegetarian's Utopia. Two decades after the establishment of the Bolshevik regime *Pravda* (1936) criticized the Moscow architects because some of the new apartment houses built for the office-holders and managers were without special rooms for the—maids doing the chores for the office-holders' families. Another twenty years of planning, and every official's maid will have a room of her own. That will be the "higher phase of communism."

DOUBLE STANDARD—The worldly wisdom of those who, as the Communists' cynical admirer Walter Duranty put it in speaking about the rulers of new Russia, judge themselves by their ideas and their opponents by their deeds.

DOUBLE TALK—The protective verbiage of all political theories comparable to the basic clauses of insurance policies. They must be beyond the grasp of the ordinary reader, lest their real meaning discourage the "prospect."

DOUBLETHINK—A term coined by George Orwell to designate the Communists' ability to think along two contradictory lines of argument at the same time. To the faithful Communist Japan's triumph over Russia in 1904-1905 was both a welcome weakening of the Tsar's power (Lenin's view at that time), and a "stain" on Russia's honor that was "wiped away in 1945" (Stalin's "Victory Address" forty years later). Similarly, Tsarist Russia's assistance to France during World War I was both a waste of Russian blood in the interests of Western imperialism (Lenin's view in 1914) and a proof of "Russia's loyalty" to her allies (Stalin's mouthpiece, Ilya Ehrenburg, in the *European Observer*, London, of September 17, 1943).—To the faithful Christian the Crucifixion is at the same time both an inevitable

occurrence preordained by divine providence and also an indelible proof of the wickedness of the Jews.

DREAMER—A member of the lunatic fringe among politicians and revolutionists. He actually believes in the humanitarian professions of his political creed. His kind is no more numerous among the office-seekers and power-aspirants of the various political parties than are those among the disinherited who really want social justice and not merely a reversal of the social status.

DREAMS—The stock in trade of psychoanalysts, who explain them and of politicians who sell them.

DREYFUS AFFAIR—The case of an innocent Jewish army captain convicted of espionage by a French military court during the last decade of the past century. It aroused great indignation on the other side of the Rhine. Such an injustice, every patriotic subject of the Kaiser thought, was altogether impossible in his country. He was right. No Jew could have become an officer in imperial Germany.

DRONE—A harmless little parasite, usually killed in the animal kingdom. In the human kingdom of capitalism a few big concerns are usually the real power behind the bureaucratic drones. Under fascism the bureaucratic drones control the hives still formally owned by the private capitalist queens. Under "Communism" the office-holding and managerial drones, having killed or expelled the private capitalist queens, eat most of the honey of the hives which are declared to be the property of the working bees.

DUALISM—A theologico-philosophical concept concerning the eternal co-existence of two mutually contradictory principles. In the Christian lore all men are equal before God, but the poor have to keep their place on earth. That dualism has its counterpart in the Marxist-Leninist theology of Russia's state religion with its

"higher phase of communism" in the distant future that will reward everybody "according to his needs," and its "first," or present phase, with its slums and hovels for the workers and peasants and the modern apartment houses and country homes for the office-holders and managers.

DUBITANDUM EST—"It is necessary to doubt." According to the followers of Marx, this motto of their teacher was to be applied only to his predecessors and critics.

E

ECONOMIC EQUALITY—1. Equality of incomes in the non-theoretical plain talk of non-Communists and of the unsophisticated Communist rank and file outside the Iron Curtain. 2. Inequality of incomes in the theoretical double-talk of the professional Communists who declare that government ownership is identical with equality.

ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION—The Marxist view of the preeminence of the economic factor in determining the course of history. The Communist Party demands as much as ten per cent of its followers' earnings. So does the Church wherever it is very influential, as in French Canada. Hence the unbridgeable gulf between the two philosophies: few can afford to pay twenty per cent of their income for spiritual necessities.

ECONOMIC SYSTEM—The method of acquiring and distributing the good things of life. 1. Capitalism: the squirrel's skin belongs to the owner of the tree. 2. Fascism: the capitalist is still the owner, but the trapper gets most of the skins. 3. Communism: the tree-owner is out; the trapper alone gets all the skins. 4. Democratic Socialism: same as No. 3, except that the owner of the tree gets some compensation and that

the squirrel has the right to protest. 5. Utopia: the skin belongs to the bunny.

EDUCATION—The invisible capital which enables its possessors to remain, or to climb on, the backs of the uneducated and to fill their heads with prejudices useful for the maintenance of either the old or the new status quo.

EFFICIENCY—The avoidance and elimination of waste in the performance of a task. Under the Tsarist regime it took twelve bullets to execute a political miscreant during particularly turbulent periods, when the more elaborate method of hanging was temporarily suspended. The Soviet regime has abolished the gallows altogether. A G.P.U.-M.V.D. man dispatches the dissenter with one bullet. Thus the new regime can afford to shoot at the same cost twelve times as many opponents as the old one.

EGALITARIANISM—The yearning for an equal share of the good things of life cherished by those among the underprivileged who have given up hope of joining the privileged. It has been frowned upon by those champions of the underdog who have won their own fight against inequality and privilege. The uneducated Fuehrer showed his distaste for it by thundering against Envy. This formulation was too crude and unscientific for those at the helm of the Russian state. So Stalin proved in a number of speeches that the demand for equality of rewards was absurd, un-Marxian and—bourgeois.

ELITE—The cream of society made up of capitalists, big land owners and their junior partners—executives, politicians, professionals, clergymen and army officers. Under "Communism" it consists of office-holders, managers, bootlicking intellectuals and army officers—with the capitalists and land-owners left out. It is the elite that will put an end to all elites and raise the rest of

the population to its own level. Its apologists say so themselves.

EMANCIPATION OF THE PROLETARIAT—One of the dogmatic mysteries of Marxism. To the rank and file of believers it means the liberation of the workers from the fetters of economic, political and cultural inequalities. To the initiated it means the emancipation of the means of production from the fetters of private ownership, to be effected through government management, under which every good Marxist will be an office-holder and every manual worker will know his place.

ENCOURAGEMENT—Something which the poor need very badly and which their betters are ready to supply. In the early 1930's, Gil Robles, leader of the Spanish clerical reactionaries, insisted that the wages of "agricultural laborers should not be so high as to discourage the farm-hand's ambition to become a small landowner." The exceedingly low wages paid to Soviet Russia's unskilled laborers are justified by the Communists as an encouragement to become skilled workers.

ENTHUSIASM—A merchandise which can be sold long after the distributor's personal supply has been entirely depleted. That's what distinguishes the merchants of enthusiasm from the merchants of Venus whose stock in trade eventually deteriorates beyond the point of salability.

EPIGRAM—A verbal firework. It is said to have made life less unbearable for the eighteenth century Frenchman living under the Bourbon system described as "despotism tempered by epigrams." The twentieth century Russian, if he cares to survive, has ample reasons not to indulge in epigrams at the expense of the regime. Which to the fellow travelers is evidence that there is no despotism in Russia.

EQUALITY—The promise held out to the poor. Religion grants it in Heaven, Democracy at the ballot box,

"Communism" through government ownership of industries. They are all equally sincere. For under "Communism" the workers "own" the industries to the same extent to which in a democracy they "own" the government. And after death rich and poor certainly smell alike, as an Italian proverb has it.

EQUALITY OF INCOMES—The essence of communism in the original meaning of the word. Behind the Iron Curtain that concept is being applied in the ultra-radical and novel sense that window-cleaners who wash the same number of windows per hour are granted equal pay. There was a Ku-Kluxer who professed to believe in social equality. *All Negroes* were to be treated the same way.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY—The basic fiction of all modern systems of inequality. "In his [Napoleon's] time," wrote Stendhal, "a bricklayer could become an officer, yes, even a general." In our time an ex-student of a theological seminary can become the overlord of one third of the globe. And any one able to spell who can afford to rent a typewriter, we read somewhere, can become a famous playwright.

EQUALITY OF ALL RACES—That aspect of the Soviet regime which is always adduced as one of its positive virtues. The Tsarist system likewise had its "positive virtues." It admitted women to higher educational institutions long before other countries did. It also did not discriminate against the weaker sex in the matter of sending political dissenters to the gallows. (The Kremlin's anti-"cosmopolitanism" of the late 1940's and the subsequent undisguised anti-Semitism have nothing to do with race discrimination. For, as everybody knows, the Jews are not a race.)

ETHICS, POLITICAL—1. A contradiction in terms. 2.An elusive set of values which every political group expects its competitors to observe but from which it considers

itself exempt because of the paramountcy of its own cause. *See* NEW ETHIC.

ETYMOLOGY—That branch of knowledge which, among other things, shows that after a certain time a word may acquire a meaning entirely at variance with its original usage. "Cannibalism" comes from *carib* meaning "valiant man," while "communism" comes from "common" which stands for "shared equally by all members of a group or kind." Yet in Dahomey, a region in Western Africa, any person, not necessarily a "valiant" one, could until a few decades ago, buy any part of the still living body of a fellow human offered for sale in a butcher shop. And in the land of "Communism" with inequalities of income as glaring as under capitalism, the idea of "equal sharing" is rejected just as violently as is the idea of social equality in Florida or Georgia.

EUPHEMISM—"Mild name for something disagreeable" (Webster). It often denotes a guilty conscience. According to the makers of the American Constitution there was no such thing as slavery—the word is never mentioned—but merely "involuntary servitude." According to N. M. Butler, late president of Columbia University, there is apparently no such thing as "capitalism," which is merely "a debating term invented by Marx" in order to disparage the system of "private enterprise." Neither do the Communists admit that there is exploitation in the U.S.S.R. There is merely "inequality of rewards."

EVIDENCE—That which is never accepted by persons with firm beliefs. To the Communist or fellow traveler all evidence about slave labor camps and the low standard of living of the workers in the USSR serves merely as a proof that those furnishing it are "enemies of the working class" and "hired tools of Wall Street."

EVITA—Patroness of the Argentine *descamisados* ("shirtless ones") who, in the process of putting shirts on

the backs of her wards, became the most expensively dressed woman of both hemispheres.

EVOLUTION—The inevitable devolopment of every libertarian, humanitarian and egalitarian gospel into its opposite. It took the followers of Confucius more than a thousand years, those of Saint Paul less than three centuries, and those of Lenin less than five years to achieve this result. (In his "April Theses" of 1917 the founder of Bolshevism demanded that the salary of a government official should not exceed the wages of a skilled worker. That idea was of course ignored as soon as the Communists established their own bureaucratic apparatus.)

EXPANSION—The time-honored method of protecting a country's safety. In a letter to Voltaire, Catherine II explained that she was defending Russia's frontiers by expanding them. The anti-imperialist rulers of New Russia have scorned this method. They have substituted for it the pacifist policy of establishing friendly governments on the frontiers of the USSR, that process to be continued *ad infinitum* at the outer frontiers of the "friendly" countries. True, the USSR acquired outright new territories with about twenty million inhabitants at the conclusion of World War II, but these were merely frontier rectifications accepted reluctantly by the Soviet regime upon the suggestion of the friendly regimes of Eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

F

FAITH—"Believing what you know ain't so" (Mark Twain). There are those who suspect that this describes the kind of faith many fellow travelers have in their "Communist" paradise, Russian style. For they prefer to remain in their capitalist inferno.

FAME—The immortality supplied by encyclopedias and historical works. In the Cambridge Modern History one may find the name of Ravachol, a common criminal, who, after a long career of plain banditry, chose to become a "dynamiter" and to die with the halo of an anarchist martyr. That history contains no reference to Prince Peter Kropotkin, the scholarly founder of modern anarchism. The bomb is apparently mightier than the pen—even in a work conceived by Lord Acton.

FANATIC—An enthusiast gone berserk who serves the cause of our enemies.

FASCISM—1. The gradualist branch of totalitarian anti-capitalism or anti-capitalist totalitarianism. 2. A system under which a group of rabble-rousers, ruffians and fanatics sets up a dictatorship in the joint interests of an upstart bureaucracy and the temporarily tolerated capitalists. (If they were to do it for the office-holders alone, they would be called Communists.) 3. A regime which enslaves and kills millions in the name of spurious national or racial superiority. (If it were to do it in the name of spurious promises of "working class emancipation" it would be called Communist.)

FAUX PAS—An offense against social convention, such as applying the term "exploitation" to the economic inequality inherent in the system of private enterprise. After the elimination of capitalism in Russia it became something worse than a *faux pas* to speak to the well-fed about the undernourished. And only those courting immediate martyrdom would talk of exploitation.

F.D.R.—The benevolent Machiavelli who, by his embargo on arms shipments to republican Spain, traded the liberty of 25 million Spaniards for the political support of a Church controlling the souls of 25 million Americans.

FEEBLE-MINDED—That section of the human race the "higher grades" of which perform, in the opinion of

an American psychiatrist, "a very fair proportion of the world's work happily and efficiently." Russia's enormous industrial progress is thus quite plausibly explained by her "brain-washing" which no doubt stimulated the efficiency of the "higher grades" of the feeble-minded. At the same time the lower grades of this useful group outside of Russia are swelling the ranks of both Communist and anti-Communist totalitarians.

FELLOW TRAVELER—1. A person who would rather believe that in Russia ninety-nine out of a hundred veteran revolutionists of all shades were enemy agents and spies than that one of them has become a dictatorial usurper bent upon exterminating his critics and rivals. 2. An innocent who is convinced that judicial murders of the Sacco-Vanzetti sort are possible only in a democratic country but altogether impossible under a dictatorship. 3. A "progressive" of a sort who would rather be a partner of a totalitarian hangman than an employee of a capitalist snob and who, annoyed by race prejudice, corruption and excessive inequality of wealth in America, acclaims the execution chambers, the slave labor camps and the monstrous inequality of incomes in Russia.

FEMININE VOTE—An uncertain quantity which in some countries seems to be strongly influenced by the platitudes of politically innocent generals, while in other countries the same effect is achieved by the pie-in-the-sky promises and the sulphur-and-brimstone threats of the man in the black coat.

FETISHISM—A form of religious worship indulged in by primitive savages, semi-civilized Orientals and civilized revolutionists alike. The Tibetans venerate the excrements of the Dalai Lama. To the fervent "Marxists" Russian style, their Teacher's schoolboy attempts at versification are poetic gems worthy of being reprinted. They have also published special volumes com-

posed of facsimile pages of books once read by Lenin, which contain marginal remarks, such as "Ha! ha! ha!", "Scoundrel!" and even modest question marks and exclamation points. These were apparently much more important than what Lenin had to say about Stalin in his "Testament"—for the latter has never been published in the USSR.

FICTION—An ideological gimmick, such as the "divine right of kings", "equal opportunity," and the like, indispensable for the maintenance of every social system. The one necessary for the non-capitalist world in the making is the Marxist concept of a world divided solely into "capitalists" and "proletarians." It has helped many ambitious would-be office holders to pose as members of the working class and to win its support for the establishment of a regime allegedly dominated by the "proletariat." It is the fiction to end all fictions.

FINANCE—According to Ambrose Bierce, "the art and science of managing revenues and resources for the best advantage of the manager." Communism, Russian style, amounts exactly to the same thing.

FINANCIER—In Communist terminology, a synonym for office-holder of another brand of totalitarianism. Six days after the clash between the regime of the Nazi *office-holders* of imperialist Germany and that of the "Communist" *office-holders* of imperialist Russia, the organ of the American Communists spoke of the contrast between the "rule of the Nazi *financiers* and the opposite kind of rule—the rule of the *workers* in the USSR." *(Daily Worker* June 28, 1941.)

FOLKLORE—The complex of superstitions, fictions and conventional lies accepted and fostered by every social system. According to the folklore of American capitalism a ragged newsboy is an "independent contractor." According to the folklore of Russian "communism" a ragged laborer is a "co-owner of his country's industries."

FOOL—A usually submissive member of the majority of the human race of whom the Hungarian rebel Kossuth said that, when in revolt, he "is infinitely wiser than a philosopher finding an apology for his [own] chains." True, but unfortunately he is not wiser than the philosopher who is never at a loss for an apology for the fool's *new* chains.

FORCE AND FRAUD—The foundation of all social systems and the source of the aroma which they all exhale. Under democratic capitalism thousands of crooked politicians, corrupt judges and grafting policemen go free. Under totalitarian "Communism" millions of honest men are in jail or in slave labor camps. As between the two one might prefer B.O. to the stench of the slaughter house.

FORESIGHT—The capacity for making wrong predictions inspired by wishful thinking. When after his coup in 1799 General Bonaparte established a military dictatorship, many expected that he would abdicate in favor of the Bourbons. When Hitler put an end to the Weimar Republic, there were those who thought that this meant the eventual return of the Hohenzollerns. When Mussolini suppressed all labor organizations, prophets of the same kind hailed the full reestablishment of capitalist rule. And there are also those who maintain that Stalin's bureaucratic machine will voluntarily "wither away."

FORGERY—The basic ingredient of history and politics. During the Dark Ages the false "Decretals" served as a basis for the Church's claim to supremacy over temporal power. During the Great French Revolution the British flooded France with billions of forged "assignats" to undermine the monetary system of the Republic. Under the First Empire Napoleon's *Moniteur* published a forged document in which Kosciuszko —who would have no truck with the usurper—allegedly appealed to his Polish countrymen to rise against the

Tsar. In 1870 Bismarck forged the famous "Ems dispatch" to precipitate his war with France. Half a century later the Tory officials of the British Foreign Office forged the so-called "Zinoviev Letter" to bring about the downfall of MacDonald's first Labor Party Cabinet. At about the same time there emerged the spurious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* which played a great part in Fascism's sweep over a large portion of the world. And then came the "confessions" at the Moscow and Prague Trials. It was the forgery to surpass and end all forgeries.

FORGIVENESS — Readiness to take a merciful attitude toward the wrongs perpetrated against others. To understand everything, says the fellow traveler or innocent, with an eye on Soviet Russia's "trials," concentration camps and police despotism, means to forgive everything. There are those who believe that to forgive everything means either to understand nothing or to be an actual or an expectant beneficiary of the crimes to be forgiven.

FRANKNESS—A virtue, sometimes misnamed cynicism, occasionally practiced by military leaders and dictators. When Napoleon's Marshal Kellermann was queried about the moneys he had levied and pocketed during the Spanish campaign, he replied: "Did they imagine that I crossed the Pyrenees for my health?" Shortly before seizing power Mussolini stated the demands of his party in the now historical formula "Our program is very simple. We want to rule Italy." A Communist knows how to control his tongue. He always insists that he wants the proletariat to own and to rule the country, forgetting to add that when he says "proletariat" he means the new bureaucracy established by his own party.

FREE ENTERPRISE—1. A system most of whose beneficiaries are just as free from the stranglehold of the big monopolies, as are the workers under "Commu-

nism" from the totalitarian grip of the bureaucracy. 2. A system, sometimes called capitalism, which has done away with social classes and exploitation; for even the poorest laborer can afford to buy a few wildcat shares and thus become a "free enterpriser" or fellow-capitalist like anybody else.

FREE SPEECH—1. A right which, according to good Communist theory, is necessary for the attainment of liberty outside the Iron Curtain, but which, under what is called Communism, must be prohibited because, by encouraging counter-revolution, it becomes the worst enemy of liberty whose chief aspect is freedom of speech. Those who cannot follow this reasoning will never understand the basic concept of Dialectical Materialism. 2. A right which, according to good Communist propaganda, has never been curtailed behind the Iron Curtain. Wrote the Communist *Daily Worker* (New York, August 23, 1934): "There is complete freedom of speech in the USSR. Any person can have and can voice any opinion about Communism or about the Communist Party, or about its policies or leaders." What a pity that no one can exercise that right more than once.

FREEDOM—A beautiful ideal which, as a Communist will tell you, cannot be realized without the preliminary establishment of its opposite. "I would give away my last shirt," says a character in a Yiddish joke, "if only I could be rich."

FREEDOM PARTY—The name under which the Communist and Fascist enemies of freedom are plying their trade in various countries.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—"Permission to sell poison—poison for the heart and the mind" for "there is no idea so foolish that it cannot be put into the heads of the ignorant and incapable multitude." The ultra-revolutionary Communists have accepted this ultra-reactionary dictum of Schopenhauer, for they know

that there is no idea so cockeyed that it cannot be maintained forever in the heads of the multitude if the press is not free.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMPANY—During the 1940's the official name of the organization which owned and published the Communist Daily Worker (New York), a paper which stands for the suppression of all non-Communist papers wherever the Communists are in power.

FRONT ORGANIZATION—An association about whose real purposes the rank and file are often ignorant, while its leaders think they know all about them—until they get new instructions from Moscow.

FUNDAMENTALISM, COMMUNIST—The unshakable belief of the malcontent poor in spirit that all their misery would disappear as soon as a few thousand revolutionary "outs" have stepped into the shoes, the swivel chairs and the mansions of the industrial and financial tycoons and of their bureaucratic partners. It is the modern substitute for the just as unshakable belief of a much larger group among the poor in spirit to the effect that all the horrors of the world had their origin in the apple.

G

GAMBLER—A man who joins a political party merely in the hope that it *may* win the next election and keep power for some time. An orthodox Marxist-Leninist is not a gambler. He is a heroic idealist who goes only for the absolutely sure thing. For his religion, which he calls Dialectical Materialism, tells him that his party *must* win and that its opponents shall forever disappear—either in the execution chambers or in the slave labor camps.

GANG WARFARE—Struggle between two groups of racke-

teers over the exclusive right to fleece the consumers of a prohibited commodity in a given territory. When two gangs of politicians fight for the exclusive right to rule the population of an entire country, it is called a conflict of ideologies.

GANGSTER—A man who is an aristocrat at heart, preferring a life of leisure and adventure to the drudgery of the common mortal. If the adventure he is engaged in aims at the elimination of the old aristocracy and the new plutocracy, and at the extermination of all his competitors, he calls himself a Fascist or a Communist.

G.B.S.—Greatest writer and wit of modern times. He believed in vegetarianism supplemented by injections of liver extract; in liberty reinforced by the methods of Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin; in lavishing his admiration on both Trotsky and his rival who ordered his assassination; and most important of all, in equality of incomes, provided an exception was made for office-holders, managers, technical experts, writers, artists and highly skilled workers. He also saw fit to attack the American government because of the indictment of the leading Communists, while approving of the judicial methods behind the Iron Curtain.

GENOCIDE—The extermination by Hitler of all Jews because of their "race," as against Stalin's liquidation first of those only who refused to lick his boots and later of those guilty simultaneously of both "cosmopolitanism" and "bourgeois nationalism."

GLORY—"A flower that grows only on graves." This was the concept of the romantic, unsophisticated past. In our day it is not the man in the grave but his murderer who gets the glory.

GOD—Policeman No. 1 without whom, according to George Moore, government would be impossible, expensive though His services may be. The Communists

and their Fascist step-brothers have proved that a good secret police and its torture chambers, though perhaps more expensive, are even more efficient in enforcing obedience. So they have relegated Him to the subordinate role of Policeman No. 2.

GOLDEN RULE—A petty-bourgeois prejudice which is scorned by those ultra-revolutionists and super-idealists who know that they alone represent the cause of truth, justice and freedom and are therefore not subject to the tenets of common decency and fair play. *See* BASTARD.

GOOD REASON—The pretext. "A man," said J. P. Morgan, "always has two reasons for doing anything—a good reason and the real reason." The "good reason" of the professional revolutionist of today is "the emancipation of the working class," the "real reason"—his appetite for power.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY—Outside the Iron Curtain: administrative and military buildings and equipment. Inside the Iron Curtain: all industries and land plus the bodies and minds of all inhabitants from the cradle to the grave.

GRAFT—An abusive term for the profit-sharing between businessman and politician. It is the most perfect method of saving the tax-payer's money, for it renders unnecessary salary increases for legislators and other public servants. At least such is the opinion of a prominent American legislator who some day hopes to become President.

GRATITUDE—A noble sentiment displayed by the Soviet authorities in 1935 when, according to reports, "a monument to the unknown dog was unveiled at the Institute of Experimental Medicine. The inscription on the monument bearing the stone image of a dog, reads: 'In memory of all dogs that have given their lives for physiological experiments for the purpose of prolong-

ing human life and improving human health.'" According to rumor a similar monument is planned for the unknown victim of the slave labor camps "in memory of all those who have given their lives, just as voluntarily as the dogs, for a political experiment in maintaining the power and improving the comforts of a new master class."

GREATNESS—In the words of Schiller, the ability to "steal a diadem." At the time when the great German poet wrote his *Fiesco,* Napoleon was in his teens and Stalin's great-grandfather still in the loins of a Georgian serf. So Schiller did not know that it is a still greater achievement to steal a revolution.

GRUMBLER—Any one not in partnership with the "ins." "Anyone may grumble who is not afraid to go to a concentration camp," said Goebbels in an article published shortly before the "purge" of June 30, 1934. "Any number of political parties may exist in the Soviet Union, provided one of them is in power and the others in prison," said Michael Tomsky, head of the Soviet "trade unions" a few years earlier. If it had not been for Hitler's insanity, this mutual readiness to learn from each other might have laid the basis for a beautiful friendship between two great nations.

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION—A concept not applicable and not applied to judges, prosecuting attorneys, mayors and other politicians who in their non-official capacity had personally associated with leaders of the criminal underworld. It is of course an altogether different matter if a gullible artist or actor was induced to lend his name to some "front" organization about whose real purpose he was kept in the dark. For, as Oscar Wilde put it, "there is no sin except stupidity."

GUILT COMPLEX—A noble sensitiveness which is believed to be at the bottom of the pro-Communism of many successful writers, actors, artists and scholars, but

to which publishers, film producers and other employers in the cultural field are absolutely immune. The suspicion that what is called "guilt complex" is in reality the justified but misdirected aversion of the man of talent to his snobbish employer is much too crude and un-psychoanalytical to be worthy of serious consideration.

GUTS—A term remembered by some radicals chiefly in connection with a horrible phrase contained in the *Testament* of Jean Meslier, rebellious French priest of three centuries ago, in whose opinion there would be no justice or happiness in this world until the last nobleman had been strung up on the guts of the last clergyman. There are those who, in bringing this pious wish of the impious priest up to date, substitute the totalitarians and reactionaries of today for those of Meslier's time.

GUTTER—A place from which Hitler, in the admiring words of G.B.S. (1938), had the "courage to rescue Germany." Mrs. Warren likewise rescued her girls from the gutter. But Bernard Shaw was not very enthusiastic about his heroine's profession when he wrote his play. That was in his sentimental nonage before the Bolshevik Revolution had broadened his political horizon.

H

HAMMER—What a totalitarian rebel chooses to be when he has a chance. The romantic fighter for freedom used to say "Better to be dead than a slave." His cynical counterpart today says "It is better to be a hammer than an anvil." So the anvils keep on being hammered.

HANGMAN—The cornerstone of the State according to Joseph de Maistre. His contemporary and fellow-reactionary, Prince of Canosa, Minister of Police of Naples,

used to say "the Prime Minister of a King should be a hangman." Came the Great Russian Revolution a hundred years later, and the ultra-revolutionary Prime Minister of the Proletarian Republic made all the hangmen of the world turn green with envy.

HARMFUL TRUTH—Something about which Thomas Mann once wrote that it "is better than a useful lie." The great revaluation of all values brought about by the Bolshevik Revolution made the great novelist realize that a harmful lie is not be sneezed at if it is believed by an enormous army of innocents constituting a vast market for one's literary wares.

HEAD-HUNTER—A primitive inhabitant of some Pacific islands who, like his cannibal cousins, does not claim to be a pacifist. In this he differs from the Communists and their Fascist cousins who insist that they are democrats.

HERESY—The application of the liberal principle of free competition in the field of political and religious ideas. It is not tolerated under a system controlled by a totalitarian theocracy or bureaucracy. For the stability of such a system depends largely upon uniformity of opinions resulting from the government monopoly of ideas, which is the monopoly to end all monopolies.

HERETIC—1. A partisan of what was called "that side of the controversy which lost." Under medieval totalitarian Catholicism and later under Calvinism and other forms of Protestantism, he was burned for the wrong kind of Christianity. Under modern totalitarian "Communism" he is purged for the wrong kind of Communism. 2. An American government employee turning over secret documents to a representative of the Russian government—in the opinion of Carey McWilliams, a writer not unfriendly to Communism and an editor of the liberal *Nation,* who in his *Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy* referred to Judith Coplon as a heretic.

HERO WORSHIP—Popular gratitude to a man who is not afraid to sacrifice millions of his subjects for his own power or glory. Twentieth century Paraguayans have apparently good reasons for glorifying their nineteenth century dictator Francisco Solano Lopez who provoked a war with Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, with the result that out of his country's population of one million only 28,000 men and 200,000 women remained alive. Mrs. Spirochaeta Pallida (syphilis to the low-brow) whose influence upon the mind of the hero is well established, has so far not been given due credit in Paraguay's school books.

HEROINE—A woman ready to kill, to be killed, or to bear children to be killed for her country's masters. When asked by Madame de Stael whom he considered the greatest woman of his time, Napoleon answered: the one who has given birth to the greatest number of children. The Russian Napoleon of today would not give such a cynical answer, lest he shock the fellow traveling society ladies. But under his dispensation the highest honors are bestowed upon "mother-heroines" who have given birth to ten or more children—for the same humanitarian purpose for which Napoleon needed them so badly.

HEROISM—A manifestation of courage which is prompted either by the irrational belief in the worthiness of the cause at stake, or by some less lofty, though no less weighty considerations. In his *Foundations of Christianity* the Marxist Karl Kautsky explains why the Jews of Jerusalem fought so desperately against the attempt of the Romans to desecrate their temple. At that time the Jewish God had become the exclusive source of livelihood for the entire population of the ancient city through the contributions sent to the national religious shrine by the numerous Jewish emigrants living in Egypt and the other sections of the Roman Empire. At about the same time their Christian cousins were en-

during martyrdom with the same courage, for their faith taught them that after His second coming, which was expected in the near future, the whole world would be theirs. Some centuries later, a firm belief in the realities of Mohammed's super-harem paradise could transform even congenital cowards into invincible heroes. And in our day, the "dialectical" faith in the inevitability of victory, reinforced by the prestige of, and the subsidies from, Stalin's super-Empire, has brought forth the heroic champions of totalitarian—liberty.

HISTORY—A pack of tricks which, according to Voltaire, we play upon the dead. Schopenhauer, with more power, though less elegance, said the same thing by declaring that "Clio, the Muse of History, is as thoroughly infected with lies as is a street walker with syphilis." Four score years after the German pessimist's death Stalin's official *History of the Communist Party of the USSR* informed the world that practically the entire Old Guard of Lenin's Party had "degenerated" into a "band of murderers and spies in the service of German and Japanese fascism."

HITTING BACK—An expression whose meaning is usually hard to convey to children, savages and bandits. A youngster, we read somewhere, told his father that he "hit back" when his friend refused to give him some candy he wanted. Hitler hit back at the Poles when they refused to make him a present of some of their territory. And so did Stalin when the Finns similarly offended him.

HOAX—The finished product of Russia's best organized industry. It embraces a whole range of items from good innocent fun like the one about the foundation of the Meteoric Iron Trust for the exploitation of meteoric iron, to Vishinsky's atomic yarn of the leveled mountains and reversed river courses. But somehow the greatest hoax of them all has succeeded in becoming

the foundation of a new religion whose communicants have been taught to accept a vast concentration camp as the Kingdom of Freedom.

HOBSON'S CHOICE—A predicament similar to that of a sensitive intellectual who, disgusted with his role as a glorified flunkey of a capitalist snob is offered the position of a junior partner of a totalitarian hangman.

HOMO SAPIENS—That suborder of the Primates which excels all other mammals by its intelligence. About ninety per cent of its most civilized branch believe either in astrology, or in immaculate conception or in the divinity of Hitler, Stalin or Evita, while the bulk of the Africans and Asians accept the sinfulness of pork-eating, the sacredness of the cow and the democratic intentions of Mao Tse-tung.

HOMOSEXUALITY—A matter of taste to the Communists as long as the person concerned is a famous writer like André Gide who adds prestige to their cause. An irrefutable proof of degeneracy as soon as he breaks with them.

HONESTY—Ninety per cent stupidity and ten per cent courage. Baudelaire invoked "an eternal curse upon the head of the baleful imbecile who, in his stupidity, taking hold of an insoluble and sterile problem, made the first attempt to introduce honesty into matters of love." There are also imbeciles who are trying to introduce honesty into matters of politics. They are called dreamers or utopians.

HOPE—The chief stock in trade of all religions and all politics. "No matter what else Communism has done for the Russian, it has given him hope," wrote Ray Long in 1931 after being shown the Potemkin villages of famine stricken Russia. No matter what misfortunes Napoleon inflicted upon his subjects, said Anatole France, "he gave them glory." But the author of *Penguin Island* wrote these words with tongue in cheek. The deluded American liberal meant it. It did

not occur to him that a lottery ticket gives hope, too, and costs less.

HOT DOGS—The God-ordained food of the common man. According to the former American Generalissimo who later became President the natural order of things requires that the great multitude should be satisfied with "hot dogs and beer" and not aspire to "champagne and caviar." The Soviet Generalissimo who has been preaching the same gospel was not as concrete as that. A philosopher and a theorist, he merely proclaimed inequality of incomes as the cornerstone of the "first phase of communism," with champagne and caviar at the disposal of all during the higher phase of communism after the fulfilment of another fifteen or twenty five-year plans.

HUMAN NATURE—An elusive substance subject to continuous improvement, according to the optimists. For in our time, they say, no man of Charles Dickens' stature would have hired the roof of a house in order to enjoy the sight of a public hanging as did the great novelist. Nor would a "liberal" intellectual of today try to view the workings of a Soviet slave labor camp. He would only, according to circumstances, either deny or justify the existence of these institutions.

HUMANENESS—1. Petty-bourgeois squeamishness afflicting mollycoddles who squirm at the thought of the necessary mass extermination of dissenters resorted to by great leaders of noble causes, as represented by Torquemada, Robespierre, Hitler and Stalin. 2. Sentimental preoccupation with the paltry needs of the living when the much more pressing fate of unborn generations is at stake.

HUMILITY—That which, as they say, one usually loves in all men but himself. "France," wrote the French novelist Leon Bloy during World War I, "is so far ahead of other peoples that, no matter who they be, they should

be honored at being allowed to eat the crumbs destined for her dogs." This was a devout Catholic's idea of practicing the tenets of Christian humility. "All great inventions and discoveries were made by the Russians," says the Russian Communist who claims to be an internationalist.

HUNGER—An affliction whose edge has been taken off behind the Iron Curtain. There, those who suffer its pangs, know that, after the fulfilment of another ten five-year plans, this scourge will be decisively liquidated.

HYSTERIA—The emotional state of America's conservative man in the street who goes berserk and runs amuck against *all* critics of the status quo, or against anything and anybody associated in his mind—no matter how remotely—with those who seem to disturb his sense of security. During World War I it made him condone the ostracizing of such words as sauerkraut and frankfurters, the banning of Wagner's music, the whipping of pacifists, and the occasional lynching of inoffensive German-speaking immigrants—followed, after the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution, by the vigilante hanging of "Wobblies" and the expulsion of anti-Communist Socialist Assemblymen from State legislatures. After World War II the rising menace of the modern Genghis Khan made him accept the McCarthys and the McCarrans, and treat as a Red heresy anything transcending the sociological insight of a top sergeant, the philosophical outlook of a Bible Belt farmer, or the political horizon of a ward heeler.

I

IDEAL—A deodorizing substance just as indispensable in the ill-smelling political struggle for power, jobs and contracts, as is incense in the cathedral where, in the

words of a cynic, its fumes "kill the odor of the faithful and enable you to be serene."

IDEALISM—1. The readiness to sacrifice other peoples' lives for one's idiosyncrasies or lust for power. In the late 1920's an organization of Southern ladies suggested that the government distribute poisoned liquor through bootleggers. "Only a few hundred thousand persons would die," their statement read, "and it would be worth it to get prohibition enforced." The idealism of these ladies must have inspired Stalin in enforcing his own noble experiment in compulsory collectivization of agriculture. The cost in human lives—usually estimated at between four and six million—was in reality insignificant. As a result the government did not even bother to publish the mortality statistics during those years. 2. Something which, according to John Galsworthy, "increases in direct proportion to a man's distance from the problem." This may be the key to understanding the infatuation of so many American intellectuals with the faraway ideal of Stalin's Utopia.

IDEALIST—1. A man who, if he enters politics, can be likened to the virgin who took lodgings in a brothel in order to convert its inmates and patrons to the ways of virtue. 2. *See* BASTARD.

IDEOLOGY—1. The phraseological figleaf covering the real intentions and appetites of the ruling "ins" sitting, or of the rebellious "outs" hoping to sit, on the back of the great majority. 2. What, according to a speech delivered by Molotov in December, 1939, in defense of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, "cannot be destroyed by force." He had in mind the Nazi ideology. But the Trotskyist ideology had to be destroyed by force two years earlier because its adherents were the "agents" of—Nazi ideology.

IDIOT—In its original Greek usage, "an ordinary or lay person, one not holding office." From this it came to

mean an uneducated or feeble-minded individual, or one who holding office resists temptation.

ILLUSION—"The only reality in life," according to the Mussolini of 1911. That's what he said when, at the peak of his socialist career, he began to lose his faith in the inevitable victory of his ideal. A decade later, at the helm of a government that had outlawed the Socialists, he permitted the underdog to enjoy that "only reality"—by promising to restore the Roman Empire with the "Roman people" once more seated comfortably on the back of the rest of the world.

IMAGINATION—That gift of the Gods which can be affected either by external events or by internal stimulants. To those endowed with it a revolution means the turning of a new page of history, while to the unimaginative run-of-the-mill rebel it merely spells the satisfaction of his hunger for a job. Peter Altenberg, the eccentric Viennese author, was once asked by a bore whether a certain laxative so warmly recommended by him had actually such a stimulating effect upon his imagination. "Yes," Altenberg replied, "it does give me inspiration. As for you, diarrhea is all you are likely to get from it."

IMITATION—The eternal recurrence of all things. The clergyman says: Church property belongs to God. The Communist office-holder says: the country's wealth belongs to the working masses. The clergyman says: We are all equal before God. The Communist says: Under our system we are all equally workers and joint owners of the means of production. The clergyman says: We must not envy the rich for they help the poor. The Communist says: We must provide all the comforts for the office-holders, managers and technicians to stimulate their efficiency in organizing the country's production. The clergyman says: Those who hold dissenting beliefs are heretics and are bound to go to hell. The

Communist office-holder says: Dissenters are traitors and their place is in the slave labor camp.

IMMORTALITY—What one sometimes achieves at the price of martyrdom. Many a fanatical moron has achieved martyrdom and immortality by dying for his cause—good or bad. For, as we read somewhere, "death ennobles and makes up for everything, converting even a miserable rabbit into a valuable sable."

IMMUNITY—Exemption from certain afflictions, such as religious paranoia which, as an Austrian wit put it, occurs only among servant girls and seamstresses, while bishops and cardinals are always able to resist it. In a similar way, only the little people who had never heard of Marx and had never read Lenin, died of starvation as a result of the various Five-Year Plans, while the great champions of Communism miraculously survived.

IMPERIALISM—The unselfish urge of armed philanthropists to civilize as much of the rest of the world as their just as unselfish rival civilizers will permit. Its policies are defended simultaneously by the realistic "march of civilization" concept of the Social Darwinist "struggle-for-lifers," and by the idealistic "White Man's Burden" argument devised as a conscience-soothing bromide for the Babbitts. 2. A policy scorned on principle by the labor parties of those countries which have no colonies to lose. 3. A term inapplicable to the foreign policy of the USSR which is interested only in the—expansion of the area of world peace.

INCOME STATISTICS—Figures which, in the capitalist countries, show the scandalous discrepancies between the standards of living of the various social classes. There are no such figures in the statistical abstracts of the USSR where there are no classes and where, as a result, the inequalities of income are a strictly private matter among the members of one big family. At least, that's what one is told by the richer members of that family.

INCOMPATIBILITY—A chasm that is not always as deep as the two parties separated by it would have outsiders believe. Bernard Shaw and Lincoln Steffens were able to admire Mussolini and Stalin either simultaneously or at short intervals. Which should, but won't, give fellow travelers and innocents food for thought as to the alleged unbridgeable gulf between the "philosophies" of the two dictators.

INCORRUPTIBILITY—The great virtue of dictators, as emphasized by their apologists. A slave owner cannot be bribed by his chattels either. However, the ungrateful slaves seldom appreciate that virtue.

INDEPENDENCE—The ideal of the elite of those small nationalities whose natural and legitimate propensity to oppress still weaker groups is thwarted by the rulers of the Empire in which they are incorporated.

INDIAN—A vicious American savage as long as his land was coveted and fought for by the God-fearing White settlers. A glorious boasted-about ancestor as soon as he was either exterminated or dispossessed.

INDIGNATION—The righteous anger which decreases in inverse proportion to the greatness of the provocation. (With apologies to Schiller who wrote that "the shame decreases as the sin grows.") There was great indignation among European and American intellectuals when hundreds of political dissenters were put to death by the Tsarist regime. Executions ceased to call forth indignation as their number was increased a thousandfold by the Tsar's revolutionary successors.

INDISCRETION—Lack of skill in accepting bribes for political influence in awarding war contracts. A personal tragedy which does not detract from the honor of a legislator who, after all is not in politics for his health or for a measly $12,500. (Representative Andrew May of Kentucky was convicted in 1947 on a charge of accepting $53,000 in bribes. On August 15, 1950, Demo-

cratic Leader John W. McCormack and Representative Dewey Short of Missouri, ranking Republican member of the Armed Services Committee, "paid tribute to" and "praised" May who, according to Short, merely "might have been indiscreet.") It is, of course, altogether different if a person has in the past committed the indiscretion of being taken in by the Communists or of having believed in the possibility of an Anarchist Utopia. Such a man must not be admitted to the United States, even though he has long since given up his illusions and broken with his former associates.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—The innocent's concept of the economic system of the USSR when he reads that it has done away with unemployment and other scourges of capitalism—until he finds out what has been substituted for them.

INEQUALITY—According to Chesterton, the basic religious tenet of capitalism ("Capitalism really depends upon some religion of inequality.") He did not foresee that after the victory of "Communism" inequality would become the basic tenet of anti-capitalism as well.

INEQUALITY OF INCOMES—A condition which, according to the British Socialist Sidney Webb (*Decay of Capitalist Civilization*) "entails in itself inequality of personal freedom" because "to the propertyless wage-earner freedom may mean nothing more than the freedom, by dint of personal toil, to continue to exist on the very brink of starvation." Ten years after the appearance of that book Stalin declared inequality of incomes as the basic feature of the "first phase of communism" i.e., of Russia's non-utopian reality, with the office-holders and managers as the beneficiaries of that inequality. This, however, did not prevent Webb from writing his laudatory *Soviet Communism—A New Civilization.* Inequality of incomes was apparently hostile to freedom only when it benefited the capitalists.

INEQUALITY OF WEALTH—A situation which, according

to William Torrey Harris (1835-1908), United States Commissioner of Education, Editor of *Webster's New International Dictionary* and outstanding American philosopher of his time, has been "caused primarily by thrifty habits in a portion of the community opposed to unthrifty habits in the remaining portion." So far this bit of profound sociological wisdom has remained unappreciated by the laborers, tenant farmers, immigrants, and Negroes who might be rich now if it had not been for their unthrifty habits, such as preferring champagne and caviar to beer and frankfurters.

INFALLIBILITY—A dogma of the Church scoffed at by the Communist freethinker. For his is a *scientific* creed founded by the infallible Teacher Marx, improved by the infallible Reformer Lenin, and applied by the infallible Disciple Stalin.

INFLATION—An economic calamity which, in the opinion of some American economists, could be prevented by leaving less spending money in the pockets of the tenants. Only cynics could suspect those experts of being in the pay of the landlords.

INFORMER—An individual who, in spite of his usefulness in preserving law and order, is generally despised everywhere along with the hangman, a no less useful mainstay of society. It is only the USSR which, shedding all feudal and capitalist prejudices, has raised the informer to the rank of a hero—as exemplified by the erection of a bronze statue to an informer killed for squealing on his fellow villagers (AP dispatch from Moscow, Nov. 14, 1938). It may or may not be true that every people has the government it deserves. But there is certainly no doubt that the Kremlin system has the heroes it is worthy of.

INGRATITUDE—The human-all-too-human sentiment toward a benefactor who is more generous than tactful. "Serves them right!" gloated an Englishman — he might have been a Frenchman or an Italian, for that

matter—at the news that for the next four years the Nixons were going to rule the American people.

INQUISITION—An evil institution which, we are told, has completely disappeared from the modern world. "The worst vices of the Inquisition were the wide-spread system of delation [informing] it encouraged by paying the informers out of the property of the condemned. . . . Histories were mutilated and all original scientific and philosophical work was banned. . . The people submitted without a show of resistance to a theocracy disguised as absolute monarchy." Thus the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* about sixteenth century Portugal. It took four centuries to bridge the enormous gulf separating medieval obscurantism and reaction from ultra-modern enlightenment and progress, and to substitute "GPU-NKVD-MVD" for "Inquisition," "totalitarianism" for "theocracy," and "proletarian dictatorship" for "absolute monarchy."

INSPIRATION—What a politician is sometimes able to distill out of his own or his enemies' excretions. The tenets of cunning and brutality imputed to the Jews in the spurious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* have been found to be the only "principle" guiding Hitler's policies. Judging by what has become of Russia's experiment with Utopia, Stalin seems to have taken his inspiration from those writers who saw in socialism nothing but the "coming slavery."

INTELLECTUAL—The descendant of the medicine-man, priest or magician, who has substituted science and literature for the hocus-pocus of his sires. Today, as in the past, he is either a satisfied partner of the property-owning "ins" or a malcontent "out" dreaming of, or fighting for, his own enthronement in the seats of power as office-holder or manager under a non-capitalist regime. He calls it the emancipation of the working class.

INTER-AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—F.D.R. appoints Borno to

the Presidency of Haiti. Borno appoints 21 Councillors of State who, in turn, elect Borno as President.

INTERESTS—That which in politics is always concealed beneath lofty principles. "The first axiom in international politics: the ideas in it always serve as masks for interests." This thought was not uttered by Lenin, but by Charles Maurras, the most rabid reactionary of twentieth century France. He held of course, as did his Russian antipode, that this "axiom" was applicable only to his political opponents.

INTERNATIONALISM—1. Exploiting all races alike without discrimination. 2. Breaking of all treaties on a world scale, as exemplified by the foreign policy of the USSR.

INVECTIVE—Substitute for argument, which sometimes hits the nail on the head. To the totalitarian revolutionist, the politician is a confidence man swindling his constituents and outsmarting his rivals. To the politician, the totalitarian revolutionist is a gangster holding up an entire country and murdering his competitors.

INVESTMENT—"The investing of money or capital in some species of property for income or profit." (Webster). "You invested money, we invested blood," argued the Soviet Marshal Konev with the Americans about the Zistersdorf oil fields in Austria which had been developed by American capital. An apocryphal story has it that the first Eurasian war-lord to use that 'blood-investment" argument was a certain Attila and that his idea was later plagiarized by a certain Genghis Khan.

IRON CURTAIN—The boundary line responsible for two different concepts of communism. To the disgruntled poor man west of that line communism means a chicken in every worker's pot. To the disgruntled poor man east of it it means a expensive car in every office-holder's garage and a servant in his household.

IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY—A term coined by the sociologist Robert Michels, in whose opinion all organized human societies always have been, and apparently always will be, ruled by cunning and ruthless minorities, regardless of the principles professed by the respective regimes, parties or other organizations. Early in the twentieth century the historian Guglielmo Ferrero pictured capitalist Italy as a country in which thirty million subjects were ruled by thirty persons for the benefit of three hundred families. In "Communist" Russia, one might say, two hundred million subjects are ruled by 20,000 party leaders, army generals and industrial managers in the interests of twenty million office-holders (their families included).

IRRESISTIBILITY—Universal appeal to high and low alike. There are only two gospels which are able to evoke such a response and which as a result contend between themselves for the mastery of the world. 1. The appeal of the Communist gospel: to the "know-nots" outside the Soviet orbit it spells equality of incomes and the absence of all taskmasters; to the "knows" it means their own elevation to the role of "haves" sitting collectively on the backs of the immense majority 2. The appeal of the Christian gospel: to the have-nots it means bliss and equality in the world to come accompanied by the infernal punishment of the wicked rich. To the "haves" it means protection of their privileges facilitated by the humility and resignation of the poor. Those unable to muster enthusiasm for either of the two gospels had better take up the study of interstellar travel.

ISMS—A succession of gospels for the underdog which began to capture the imagination of the masses wherever and whenever religious consolation began to lose its magic. At first it was Socialism which held out salvation in this vale of tears—but only for the future generations. And so did Anarchism which, however, tried to enliven the waiting period with acts of sweet

revenge. Anarchism was succeeded by the Syndicalist myth of the seizure of industries by the trade unions in the not too distant future. Then came Communism which, to the malcontents, spelled immediate conquest of power and as much bloodletting as they wanted. And in the end Fascism tried to outbid them all by promising its followers mastery over the rest of the world and even more blood than the Communists could spill.

I.W.W.—*See* WOBBLIES.

J

JESUIT ORDER—The brain-trust of the world's oldest totalitarian organization. Its basic principle, as propounded by its founder Ignatius Loyola, was "let us all think the same way, let us all speak in the same manner, if possible." The hostility shown the Jesuits by the Nazis and the Communists confirms once more what has been said so often about the ingratitude of children and disciples.

JEW—A person belonging to a group, all of whose members are allegedly rich and clever. So, quite naturally he is hated by those who, being neither rich nor clever, are prone to believe the myth.

JEWISH CAPITALISM—A phantom whose re-apparition at the Prague trials of 1952 may bring about the final merger of the two warring branches of totalitarianism and help Stalin win the hearts of those who hitherto rejected Communism because of its alleged Jewish taint.

JEWISH COMMUNIST—A man who scorns his ancestors' dietary laws and is ready to swallow everything—from the Stalin-Hitler Pact of 1939 to the Prague Trials of 1952.

JOB—In the unprinted and unprintable Webster for poli-

ticians and totalitarian revolutionists the abbreviation for Public Welfare, Ideal, Principle, and Emancipation of the Working Class.

JIM CROW—That time-honored Southern custom which to both Dixiecrats and Stalinists is the essence of true Americanism. Its perpetuation is worth a hundred divisions to Moscow and Peiping.

JUDGE—In some of the countries west of the Iron Curtain often a partner of profiteers and racketeers; in all countries east of the Iron Curtain always a partner of hangmen and a purveyor of slave labor camps. Otherwise the noblest profession and as old and venerable as the oldest of them all.

JUSTICE—That commodity for which there is no *ersatz* according to the winged word of the late Mayor La Guardia who, preoccupied as he was with the strenuous task of being on good terms with the followers of Benito and Uncle Joe as well as with those of F.D.R., had no time to ponder over the idea that neither is there an *ersatz* for freedom.

K

KAKISTOCRACY—Rule by the worst, that is, by our political rivals.

KIDNAPPING—The G.P.U.-M.V.D.'s irrefutable retort to irrefutable criticism outside the Iron Curtain.

KISSING HANDS—A romantic gesture still prevalent in some backward sections of the world. It is frowned upon in the USSR as a "remnant of the feudal-aristocratic tradition" pregnant with counter-revolutionary potentialities. For the custom might make a growing generation forget that not the hand of a young girl but the boot of an old Communist is worthy of that affectionate gesture.

KU KLUX KLAN—An organization of fearless crusaders for pure, undiluted Americanism, whose ideas are publicly disowned but secretly shared by many—oh, how many!—of those who are not the direct targets of their attacks.

L

LABORISM—Democratic socialism with the theoretical double talk omitted. In England it accepts the monarchy and the Empire; in Australia—the idea of White "Aryan" supremacy. Aside from that it is the hope of mankind.

"LAND OF SOCIALISM"—The name the Communists are wont to apply to the U.S.S.R. Well—there are those who speak of "love" in referring to brothels.

LANDSLIDE—What is bound to occur in a democratic country like the United States when the common man, grown tired of the small leeches besetting him, decides to give a chance to the large vampires, or the other way 'round.

LAW—The bête noire of anarchist philosophy, the main tenet of which, according to Ambrose Bierce, is that "ye shall have no law," as distinguished from Socialism, under which, again in Bierce's words, "law is all ye shall have." Had that author lived long enough to behold Communism at work, he would have concluded that what he called "Anarchism" and "Socialism" have both been realized under the Soviet regime. For there the privileged top is above the law while the bulk of the population enjoys the greatest collection of laws, decrees and regulations even inflicted upon any people.

LEFT WING SOCIALIST—A radical who—if he does not turn Communist—usually becomes an opportunist, that is a right-winger, as soon as his faction captures the party.

LEGEND—A tall tale containing some elements of possibility but not probability. It is distinguished from the myth in that the latter deals with gods or with humans who behave like gods. Russia's history begins with the hoary legend about the kind Norsemen who were allegedly *invited* to rule the country. It now includes the modern myth about the Bolshevik liberators who allegedly established the rule of the working class.

LEITMOTIV—The dominant political melody. One of the first pamphlets written by Lenin after the seizure of power by his party was entitled "Can the Bolsheviks keep power?" All his later writings, as well as those of his disciples and successors, have been variations on the same theme.

LENIN—The lucky Mohammed of the New Islam who was wise enough to die in time before he was either murdered in exile or forced to "confess" to his deviations from true Leninism.

LENINISM — The ultra-revolutionary development of Marx's theory of the "withering away of the State." There is no liberty as long as there is a State, according to one of Lenin's classical sayings. Hence his consistent followers had to destroy every shred of liberty in order to establish a strong "proletarian" State whose office-holding rulers would gradually commit harakiri ("wither away") in order to achieve real "stateless" liberty for the masses.

LESSER EVIL—That which sometimes turns out to be the entering wedge for definite doom. In 1932 the German Socialists went to the polls under the slogan "Vote for Hindenburg—thus you will defeat Hitler." The old general was elected and transferred all power to the Fuehrer. After that democratic America's technique helped to destroy the power of Fascism, and since that time one third of the world has been enjoying a much more efficient brand of totalitarianism. *See* HOBSON'S CHOICE.

LETTERS OF MARQUE—Until the middle of the past century, a special government license empowering a private citizen to engage in piracy. John Brown, as Wendell Phillips put it, was convinced that he had "Letters of Marque" from God to destroy slavery. In our enlightened age the champions of the underdog no longer believe in supernatural inspiration. Lenin had his Letters of Marque from the divine, omniscient and infallible Marx, and Stalin had his from the just as divine, omniscient and infallible Lenin.

LIBERALISM—1. Laissez faire style: a philosophy postulating non-interference by the State with the private entrepreneur's profit-making, regardless of the lengths he goes to in exploiting his employees. 2. Fellow traveling style: a philosophy postulating non-interference with the Soviet State regardless of its excesses in oppressing its subjects.

"LIBERAL," FELLOW TRAVELING STYLE—A man who has never, never, been a Communist sympathizer, but could not possibly find fault with any of the Kremlin's policies, except perhaps its stand on such matters as genetics, astronomy or music.

LIBERATOR—A man who as a rule assumes dictatorial power in order to protect his fellow citizens from oppression. In Los Angeles, it was reported in 1948, "a man was arrested for issuing worthless checks to businessmen. He explained to the judge that he had used the money thus obtained to finance a company organized for the purpose of protecting businessmen from people who issue worthless checks."

LIBERTARIAN—In French usage a euphemism for revolutionary anarchist. In American usage—as introduced by some ex-radical champions of the oppressed Sixty Families—an opponent of Social Security, Progressive Taxation, the New Deal, the Welfare State and other forms of slavery threatening the free men of this country.

LIBERTY—Something which, in the words of the Papal Encyclical of June 20, 1888, "in the extraordinary conditions of these times the Church usually acquiesces in . . . because she judges it expedient to permit them" until "in happier times [she would] exercise her own liberty." The Communists outside the Iron Curtain are also yearning for those "happier times" when, instead of merely smearing their opponents, they could "exercise their own liberty." "When I am the weaker," wrote Louis Veuillot, a nineteenth century Catholic author, "I demand liberty from you because such is your principle; but when I am the stronger, I will deny it to you because such is my principle." Such is also the principle of the Communists. But they are much too clever to be as frank as that.

LIQUIDATION—Elimination of a dissenter. There is a profound ethical difference between the motives prompting the modern Communists and the medieval churchmen to accomplish this result. According to the former, the enemy is to be exterminated in the name of class hatred, while under the latter he was dispatched in the name of brotherly love.

LIQUIDATION OF THE STATE—The theory that the seizure of dictatorial power by the "working class," i.e., a party pretending to profess the principles of Karl Marx and to represent the real interests of the workers, will eventually result in the automatic "withering away" of all government compulsion. It is understood that the ultimate liquidation of the "withering away" State will have to be preceded by the preliminary complete liquidation of all critics of the totalitarian methods of the liquidators.

LIVELIHOOD—A word whose mention in the presence of politicians, professional totalitarian conspirators, labor leaders and clergymen, in connection with their calling, is not good form.

LOCOMOTIVES OF HISTORY—Marx's famous phrase about

revolutions. There is nothing wrong with the expression—except that the trains seldom arrive at their original destination and that the engineers, more often than not, take their passengers for a ride.

LOVE—A feeling which occasionally manifests itself in a way not particularly appreciated by its object. The Fascists and the Communists are devoted to the masses on whose backs they rise to power and opulence. In one of Frank Harris' short stories the budding toreador says "I like the bulls."

M

MCCARRAN IMMIGRATION ACT—Brown Adolf's body lies a-mouldering in the grave. But his soul goes marching on.

MACHIAVELLI—The naive author of *The Prince* who really thought that the Medicis and all the other despots of his time and of the times to come needed any advice in the technique of double-crossing, treachery and all other fundamentals of politics.

MAFFIA—A reminder to every idealist anxious to enter politics. (At its outset the Maffia was a patriotic organization defending the Sicilian people against foreign oppressors.)

MAGIC—A trick whereby the Communist politician substitutes the office-holder's fat salary check for the capitalist's dividend and calls it "abolition of exploitation of man by man."

MAJORITY RULE—The basic tenet of Communism—according to the Communists. "Without having won the majority of the working class for Communism, without the sympathy and friendly neutrality of the broad middle class of city and country, we Communists would not advocate an actual attempt to set up such a workers'

government." Thus the New York *Daily Worker* of 1934. This definitely disposes of the slanderous accusation that the Russian Constituent Assembly, elected in 1917, under a system of universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, was dispersed by the Bolsheviks because its majority consisted of democratic Socialists and Liberals.

MAKERS OF HISTORY—The glorified master crooks, confidence men and gangsters who, as statesmen, politicians and professional revolutionists, perform on the stage of the world. They have an advantage over the underworld gentry in that they do not feel bound by the old-fashioned code of honor among thieves.

MALCONTENT—A dissatisfied poor relation of the ruling set, in other words an "out" who is up in arms against the "ins." When he wins, a new crop of malcontents springs up to keep the wheels of politics turning.

MAN ON HORSEBACK—The magnet attracting the plutocrat-hating rebels and intellectuals. Plato admired the Spartans; most of the followers of Saint-Simon jumped upon the bandwagon of Napoleon III; and a few years after the death of the communist conspirator Auguste Blanqui (1881) nearly half of his disciples—mostly déclassé professionals—joined the aspirant military dictator, General Boulanger. In our day, the Hamsuns and Dreisers fall for the Hitlers and Stalins. It would seem that the smell of the soldier's boot is sweeter than that of the banker's patent leather shoe.

MANAGERIALISM—The theory that the office-holder and manager, and not the worker, is going to take over the inheritance of the doomed capitalist. First briefly hinted at by Michael Bakunin, later developed by the Polish revolutionist Waclaw Machajski, subsequently presented to the American public by this writer, it became the subject of a best-selling book by an author who gave no credit to his predecessors. He was a teacher of ethics.

MARCH OF CIVILIZATION—A pageant showing how an ever-changing minority of crooks provided with spurs takes its seat on the back of the never-changing majority of dupes provided with saddles. *See* CIRCULATION OF ELITES.

MARTYR—1. A man who did not live long enough to inflict on others the fate that befell him 2. A man whose blood, according to a variant of the old saying, is supposed to be the seed of freedom. But more often than not it is the seed of a new tyranny.

MARTIAL LAW—A system with which, according to a nineteenth century liberal, "any fool can rule." But he is no fool who can convince thousands of American and French intellectuals that his martial law represents the Kingdom of Freedom.

MARX, KARL—In the opinion of many intellectuals, the perfect guide through the political and economic labirynth of today. Even though he failed to foresee (a) the rise of a growing *new* middle class of intellectual workers, managers and technicians, (b) the various aspects of fascism, and (c) the totalitarian imperialism of what is called "Communism."

MARXISM—A theory on the basis of which it was to be expected (1) that the workers of America, industrially the most advanced country, should be the most class-conscious and the most revolutionary section of the world proletariat; (2) that Russia and China, in view of their economic backwardness, should have been the last and not the first countries to discard the system of private enterprise; (3) that the middle layers of society should have disappeared long ago and merged with the pauperized working masses.

MARXIST—1. An enemy of exploitation who insists that not the private capitalist but only the State (that is, the office-holders and managers) has the right to dispense the blessings of unequal incomes; and who like-

wise maintains that the State, while engaged in this function, is gradually "withering away." 2. An agitator who will prove to the worker that it makes a lot of difference whether his low wages are caused by the profits pocketed by the capitalists or by the high salaries distributed—after the elimination of the capitalists—among the office-holding and managerial personnel.

MASQUERADE—One of the fundamentals of politics. In monarchist Germany an organization of semi-feudal big land-owners called itself *Bauernbund* (Peasant League) ; in the United States the pen-mercenaries of the Sixty Families call their employers "individualists" and "libertarians"; in the USSR the office-holders and managers constituting the One Big Job Trust, call themselves "workers."

MASTER RACE DOCTRINE—An infamous philosophy invented by the infamous Nazis, which has nothing, absolutely nothing in common with the "white supremacy" doctrine practiced by the Anglo-Saxon nations for the benefit and protection of their colored wards.

MEGALOMANIA—The normal mental condition of nationalists and internationalists alike. "The German workers," wrote Marx's friend Engels in the preface to his *German Peasants War*, "have two essential advantages over the workers of the other European countries. First, that they belong to the most theoretical people of Europe, and, second, that they have kept alive that theoretical sense which the so-called 'educated classes' have lost altogether." Which, translated into plain language, means that the few German followers Marx and Engels had in their lifetime were the most intelligent men in the world's most intelligent nation.

MEMORY—That faculty of the voter whose non-functioning enables the politicians to ply their trade.

MERDE—An unprintable French exclamation to which

Voltaire's countrymen often resort to express their disgust or disrespect. Shouted at Waterloo by one of Napoleon's generals to the British officer who asked him to surrender, the similarity of its sound to *meurt* (dies) led to the invention of the mythical "the old guard dies but never surrenders." There is a similar discrepancy between the politico's and the dictator's lust for power and the lofty ideals they profess.

METAMORPHOSIS—The fate of the rebel who, having survived the risks of his early career and eaten of the poisonous fruit of power, turns from hero, idealist and apostle, into cynic, hangman or gigolo of the new status quo. It is the Hegelian-Marxian thesis and anti-thesis at work within the same individual. But we fail to see the beneficent synthesis.

MINIMUM PROGRAM—The designation given by nineteenth and early twentieth century Socialists to those planks of their program which could be realized within the framework of the capitalist system. The minimum program is to be distinguished from the maximum program which, to the Socialists, means public ownership of the industries, while to the Anarchists (though as a rule they do not use that term) it would mean the "abolition of the State," i.e. the elimination of all government. The minimum program of the Socialists has since been incorporated in the Welfare State measures of the New Deal Democrats, while the maximum program of the Anarchists has to a certain extent become part of the essential credo of the Republicans who are strenuously opposed to all kinds of government interference—unless it is against the workers, of course.

MINORITY RIGHTS—An argument kept in the intellectual armory of ultra-radicals and ultra-reactionaries alike. Time was when anarchist theorists rejected democracy in the name of freedom on the ground that majority rule meant the violation of the rights of the minority. During World War II, the British colonial oligarchy,

in opposing Indian independence, used the old "anarchist" argument that the rights of the minorities (in this case of the Moslems and the Untouchables) must be protected. Thus liberty and tyranny can be defended by exactly the same vocabulary. Which possibly explains why victorious champions of freedom seldom have philosophical pangs of conscience when they turn their coats.

MIRACLE—In politics, the advent of a party which is interested only in the welfare of the people. At the outset of the Revolution the Father of Bolshevism stated that in the place of the two hundred thousand noblemen and capitalists who had ruled Russia for their own benefit, a similar number of Bolsheviks were henceforth going to rule for the benefit of the masses. Outside of Russia there are some who still believe that this miracle has actually happened.

MISANTHROPIST—A man who detests the poor because they are so much like the rich whom he hates because they exploit and oppress the poor. There was a kind lady wo despised the German Jews because they were so much like the Germans whom she loathed because they persecuted the Jews.

MISCEGENATION—An unforgivable crime in the eyes of a large section of a great Christian nation which believes in the brotherhood of man. To protest against this prejudice, the Soviet representative, in a resolution submitted in 1949 to the United Nations Economic and Social Council in Geneva, insisted upon the abolition of all restrictions on racially mixed marriages throughout the world. Only one form of mixed marriages was to be strictly prohibited: that between Soviet women and non-Soviet citizens who want to take their wives out of the U.S.S.R. For a Soviet woman's highest duty is to bear children for the Soviet fatherland, her misdirected affection for a foreigner being in the nature of sexual depravity complicated with attempted flight

from her legitimate owner—the State Breeding Department.

MIXED ECONOMY—A proposed social system combining political democracy with public, cooperative and private ownership, thus eliminating private capitalist monopolies and curbing the totalitarian tendencies of a bureaucratic hierarchy. It is confronted by the difficulty of determining whether it is to be called a socialist variety of liberalism or a liberal variety of socialism.

MOB—A synonym for "crowd" whenever the masses are on a rampage for such selfish objectives as a piece of land, higher wages or unemployment relief. The detractors of the poor, who are prone to use this term, should remember that the mob is just as often inclined to defy the law for such unselfish purposes as "roasting a nigger" in the United States, lynching a Protestant missionary in Latin America or smashing the skull of a Jew in Poland.

MOB RULE—Democracy, according to the reactionaries. The fascist "out" parrots this aristocratic fairy tale in his propaganda against the capitalist and bureaucratic elites of the democratic state, whereupon the mob helps the rabble-rouser to overthrow "its own" rule.

MORAL INSANITY—The new ethical standard adopted by totalitarian countries. In rewriting the moral code of the German youth which used to worship Siegfried as the Superman-Hero, the Nazis gradually introduced the cult of Siegfried's murderer, Hagen, as the symbol of the vassal's loyalty to his master who ordered the killing of the hero. Russia's lore has no personage corresponding to the Hagen of the Nibelung saga. Hence the Soviet regime struck upon the idea of erecting a monument to a slain informer who became the Siegfried of modern Russia's saga. *See* INFORMER.

MORALLY—The opposite of "actually." After the downfall of the Spanish monarchy in 1931 the Republicans

expropriated the big land owners "morally" by abolishing their *titles of nobility* without distributing their land among the peasants. More than a decade before that event the Russian Communists expropriated the land-owners and capitalists both morally and literally by abolishing their *property titles* as well. As a result the land and the factories were "morally" transferred to the toiling masses—to become *actually* the collective property of the new nobility constituting the government apparatus.

MORE, ALWAYS MORE—A slogan coined by Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor. It conveyed the correct idea that, regardless of the form of the social system, the workers would always have to fight against inequalities in the distribution of the good things of life. Only cynics would make snide remarks to the effect that this slogan has scored its greatest triumphs in improving the standard of living of the labor leaders.

MORTAL SIN—A transgression which, according to the Complete Church Catechism republished in Spain in 1927, is committed by those who "vote for a Liberal candidate." The denizens of the totalitarian countries are spared the temptation of committing that mortal sin. There are neither Liberal nor other opposition candidates to vote for.

MURDER—Killing people to get their money or to satisfy a personal grudge. It is considered a crime and you can be executed for it. But if you kill to get power, that's revolution. After that you do the executing.

MUTUAL AID—*See* OIL INTERESTS.

MUTUAL COMPANY—An enterprise engaged in the business of altruism. The largest life insurance company of America—and of the world for that matter—claims that it is a "mutual company" and hence not a profit-making or capitalist enterprise. There are no stock-

holders and the profits are distributed as dividends among the policy-holders who are declared to be the only owners of the enterprise. There is, however, a large Board of Directors and a long list of officers, each of whom is paid a fabulous salary. The Directors and the Officers are periodically reelected by the millions of policyholders who have the vote but no practical opportunity of putting up another list of *their* "employees." This setup shows a striking analogy to the "workers' ownership of industries" in the USSR, with the comparison rather in favor of the American insurance company. For the latter, at least, grants its policy-holders the theoretical right to make an attempt at changing the Directors and the Officers. No such theoretical right exists in the "Workers' Republic" where all the candidates must be endorsed by the Central Committee of the ruling party which corresponds to the self-perpetuating Board of Directors of that isurance company.

N

NATIONAL ANTHEM—A combination of bad music and lofty sentiments serving to arouse enthusiasm for causes lofty and not so lofty. In 1794 the Marseillaise was sung by the soldiers of the French Revolution, fighting against foreign intervention which aimed at restoring the Bourbons. In 1919 it was again sung by the French soldiers—invading Russia in support of the Monarchists. At that time the Red Army countered by singing the International. Twenty years later the Red soldiers sang the International again while invading Finland and Poland.

NATIONAL PRIDE—The feeling that there is joy in having a substantial part of your income eaten up by jobholders and army officers who speak your language.

NATIONALISM—1. A political creed which proclaims that

plunder, conquest, extermination, exploitation and enslavement of one's neighbor are absolute evils—when resorted to by the neighbor. 2. A foolproof political philosophy based both upon the liberal and humanitarian idea of every people's right to determine its own destiny, and on its very opposite, viz., the predatory, anti-humanitarian "master race" concept of every single ethnical group.

NATIONALIZATION—A process whose advocates claim that what is owned by the State is owned by the people. There are cynics who contend that this is true only to the same extent to which the Navy is owned by the sailors and the Post Office by the letter-carriers, and to which a thousand years ago Church property belonged to the poor. For just as the "poor" turned out to be the Church hierarchy whose members had taken the "vow of poverty," the "people" under Soviet Communism are the office-holders who own nothing but the entire country—collectively, that is.

NAZISM—A double-barreled manifestation of the Oedipus complex as demonstrated by its parricidal hatred of its sires to whom it owes the two pillars of its creed: the chosen people myth, on the one hand, and the totalitarian reality on the other.

NECESSARY STEP—A measure often in contradiction to the aim allegedly pursued. According to the admirers of the Soviet regime, the establishment of slave labor camps was a necessary step towards the abolition of exploitation of man by man. According to President Lowell of Harvard, the quota restricting the admission of Jews was introduced as a means of combating anti-Semitism.

NECHAYEV, SERGEI—Uncanonized patron saint of modern "Communism." Ostracized by practically all revolutionists of his time, including Marx and Bakunin—but later glorified by the Bolsheviks—this super-revolutionist (the younger Verkhovensky of Dostoyevsky's

Possessed) established and practiced the principle that no member of his group was ever permitted to drop out alive, for he knew too many of its secrets. Half a century after Nechayev's death (1882) the G.P.U.-N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. was to act in accordance with the same principle, as illustrated by the kidnapping and/or assassination on foreign territory of its ex-agents Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Ignace Reiss and Walter Krivitsky. During the 1930's and 1940's New York's Murder, Inc. professed and practiced the same—philosophy.

NECROPHILIA—Perverse love for the dead. It was chiefly after Napoleon seized power that the French Revolution began to make sense to the liberal intelligentsia outside of France. In a similar way the Russian Revolution became fashionable with many non-Russian radical intellectuals after the extermination of all old-time revolutionists by Stalin.

NEO-DEMOCRACY—Dictatorship which, as some of its admirers say, is a new type of government by popular consent. Well, for all we know, cannibalism may be a new type of vegetarianism.

NEUTRALITY—In the Soviet vocabulary, as used by Marshal Timoshenko, a policy which brought "remarkable new victories in Finland, Bessarabia and the Baltic States." This was a Communist way of referring to the Soviet-Nazi Pact of 1939 and to the ensuing annexations effected without risk while Hitler's armies occupied France.

NEW DEAL—The minimum program of the democratic Socialists adopted and enacted by a Democratic Administration which thereby firmly established itself as the poor man's party and thus effectively killed the socialist movement.

NEW ETHIC—The result of the revaluation of all values that is taking place as the old order yields to the new. In his preface to Anna Louise Strong's *The First Time in History* written in the early 1920's, Leon Trotsky

said that "a new class which, in a desperate struggle, fights for a new historical regime, creates at the same time the basis of a new ethics and a new esthetics." Fifteen years later the champions of the "new ethics and new esthetics" plunged a G.P.U. pickaxe in his brain and blamed the murder on a follower of the victim. *See* ETHICS, POLITICAL.

NEWSPAPER—The institution which enabled Emerson to define democracy as a government by bullies tempered by editors. Dictatorship may be defined as a government by hangmen tempered neither by editors nor by any one else.

"NIHILISTS"—A misnomer for the "Liberals with a bomb" who, in the late 1870's and the early 1880's fought and died for Russian democracy. The Communists, who claim to be their descendants, have the same right to do so as the maggots bred in their corpses. (This writer has filched the idea for this simile from Lessing's fable about "Epigones.")

NOBLE EXPERIMENT—1. American style: An attempt to make drinking the exclusive privilege of those who, as Ernest Boyd put it, "openly said that their robots would produce more, at no increase in wages, if deprived of alcohol." 2. Russian style: An attempt to make the workers slave harder, and at lower wages, by telling them that the factory is theirs.

NOBLESSE OBLIGE—What a man is in honor bound to do or not to do. Thus, as E. A. Ross says somewhere, "the government clerk who secretly markets advance crop information would hardly steal overcoats." Neither would the "Communist" chief of a slave labor camp for political dissenters send anybody to the gas chamber because of the shape of his nose. (This was written prior to the Prague trials of 1952.)

NON-COMPROMISER—The "pure" radical who will take no sides in the possible conflict between the democra-

cies of the West and the totalitarian bloc of the East. He firmly believes that it makes no difference whether he is permitted to spread his ideas or whether he is doomed to quick or slow extermination for questioning the good intentions of the "Communist" dictators. But he just as firmly hopes to escape the second alternative as a result of the fight put up by those whom he despises as believers in the lesser evil.

NOVEMBER REVOLUTION, 1917—The dividing line between Leninism's two phases. Before 1917: Struggle for power in order to destroy Tsarism and to establish democracy.—1917 and after: Destruction of democracy and establishment of something incomparably worse than Tsarism in order to maintain power.

O

OBSCURITY — A method of expression required of all founders of religious, philosophical and political systems. An explanation for Marx's obscure style might be sought in his anticipation that some day he may become the first person in Eurasia's Holy Trinity: Marx-Lenin-Stalin. For, as St. John Chrysostom said, "a comprehended God is no God."

OIL INTERESTS—Benevolent organizations which control the legislatures of California, Louisiana, and Texas thus helping them to carry on a government of the people, by the people and for the people. In other States similar philanthropic activities are pursued by steel, coal, copper, silver, timber, cotton and other interests thus realizing the great humanitarian, democratic, socialist, communist and anarchist ideal of mutual aid.

OIL WORKER—An agitator among the workers employed in the oil fields. Stalin, a literary Communist periodical told its readers, "was a former worker in the oil fields of Baku," even though the editors knew that the only

work Lenin's great disciple ever did in the oil fields was to oil the machinery of the party of which he was a paid functionary. In the same sense that Stalin was an "oil worker," the regime connected with his name was to become a "workers' government."

OLD TESTAMENT—That part of the scriptural and ethical basis of modern Christian civilization which was prohibited by the Nazis during their reign over Germany. There are rumors that Hitler and Goebbels were afraid lest the report (Book of Joshua) about the God-ordained total extermination of Jericho's population, inspire their followers with a feeling of kinship and solidarity with the descendants of those God-fearing exterminators.

OMELET—The revolutionist's stock excuse for the unpleasantnesses accompanying the political ventures in which he plays the leading part. The argument that "you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs" is plausible enough, but the tragedy of most revolutions consists not only in the egg-breaking but also in their champions' regrettable habit of gobbling up the whole omelet.

OMNISCIENCE—The special gift of the Marxist-Leninist who may not always know what happened, but is never at a loss how to interpret it.

ONTOLOGICAL ARGUMENT—An attempt to prove the existence of God by the following reasoning: "God is the most real [or the perfect] being. The most real [or perfect] being necessarily exists. Therefore, God exists." The ontological argument of the atheist Communists's faith runs along similar lines: "The USSR is the most perfect of all existing social systems. The most perfect of all existing social systems is necessarily one endowed with the greatet possible freedom. Therefore the Soviet system is the freest of all possible systems."

OPIUM—The narcotic which made Marx and religion famous. "The weakening of dogmatic religion," wrote the Catholic anti-Communist Hilaire Belloc, unconsciously paraphrasing and confirming Marx's saying, "will mean the revolt of the poor . . . for religion makes unhappiness bearable." The Kremlin has since realized that the old drug could still be useful in preventing "the revolt of the [Russian] poor" and in "making unhappiness bearable" in the "Workers' Republic." As a result it has made peace with the Orthodox Church.

OPIUM WAR—A nasty name given to a crusade (1840) carried on by the United Kingdom in defense of the principle of free trade. The technically correct claim of the Chinese government that the seized commodity in question was opium whose importation was prohibited, and that the traders in question were actually smugglers, was entirely beside the point and could not serve as justification for preventing a British businessman from making a few million honest dollars. For, after all, an Anglo-Saxon gentleman does not go to Asia to peddle peanuts. And the cession of Hongkong was a very small fine indeed to pay for the destruction of 20,000 cases of that valuable commodity.

OPPOSITION—In totalitarian usage, a homogeneous mass of traitors who, according to the regime, are either Jews or flunkeys of Jews, or Trotskyite agents of fascism, or Titoist and Zionist hirelings of American imperialism.

OPTIMISM—1. The inclination to take a charitable view of politics and politicians because, theoretically, it is possible that a political party, upon obtaining power, should keep all its promises instead of feathering its leaders' nests and rewarding its more active supporters with lucrative jobs. Theoretically, the number of fingerprints is limited. But, we are told, no duplicates have been found to date. 2. A defect of vision affecting innocents and enthusiasts and rendering them at times in-

capable of distinguishing mass murder from revolution and totalitarian tyranny from emancipation.

OPULENCE—A condition of upper class comfort which the workers have at last achieved in the satellite countries under Communist rule. In the capital of Poland a "workers' apartment," as shown in a picture of an American magazine, "has a kitchen, living room, bedroom, bath and maid's quarters." It is of course beside the point that the caption of the picture also contained the information "in a building provided for the employees of the National Bank"—indicating that the "worker" in question was apparently one of the Communist directors of Soviet Poland's largest financial institution. After all, an admiral is a sailor.

ORGANIZED BAND OF ROBBERS—A definition of the State once upon a time in vogue among the Anarchists. It was of course a gross generalization and simplification. For there is a difference between the gadget on which in a democracy a cabinet minister hangs his stenographer's mink, and the contraption on which, under totalitarianism he suspends his political opponents.

ORIGINAL SIN—Man's desire for power—his basic corruption.

OVERCOMPENSATION—"Excessive reaction to a feeling of inferiority." The poor man's way of making up for his cowardly servility and submission to his masters by the courage he shows as a member of lynching mobs.

OVERHEAD—The major part of the intake of charitable institutions, according to the principle that charity begins at home. It is this principle which determines the price of commodities in the "Workers Republic," where a suit of clothes costs 20 times as much as an American worker has to pay for it in terms of working hours, and where the difference is used to maintain an efficient administration for the protection of that charitable system.

OVERSIGHT—The stock excuse for deliberate omission. The complete Soviet edition of all of Marx's and Engels' writings fails to include those articles which deal with Russian-Tsarist imperialist machinations. There are those who suspect that this "oversight" is due to the fact that some passages in those articles read as if they had been written about the Kremlin's present ambitions to conquer the world.

P

PALLIATIVE—1. A time-honored method of curing major social ills with soup kitchens and other forms of charity. Perhaps its proponents are sincere. Yet, if a man says the best way to kill a hippopotamus is to prick it with pins, one shouldn't always conclude he is a fool. He may be in the pay of the pin manufacturers. 2. A politician's way of remedying major social ills by allotting a tiny fraction of the sum necessary for the purpose. It is as effective as a syringe against an incendiary fire—to use a simile employed by Schopenhauer. As compared with the politician's syringe, the big fire engine used by the modern revolutionist would certainly seem to be far more effective. Unfortunately, however, the liquid employed by the totalitarian rebel for extinguishing the fire of misery invariably turns out to be gasoline.

PAPER—A substance which, for all the forests of Siberia, seems to be so scarce in the USSR that the government cannot afford to deliver it to its critics. That explanation was given by Stalin to the French statesman Herriot when, on his visit to Moscow during the 1930's, he asked why the press was not free if the Soviet regime was as stable as his host claimed. The story goes that in his turn, Herriot, queried why wages were so low in France, replied that in his country, too, there was little paper, particularly of the good quality on

which money was printed and that the French capitalists could not waste this scarce material on their employees.

PARABLE—A story with a moral. A parable on the revolutionary would-be dictator and the masses is contained in the caption of a non-political cartoon that was intended merely to be funny. Says the convict to his pet bird in the cage: "Cheer up, Dicky, *we* are getting out next week."

PATRIOTISM—"The last refuge of the scoundrel" as long as the capitalists are in power. The highest virtue, as soon as the Communist office-holders take their place.

PATRONAGE—The quintessence of the platforms and the philosophies of America's two major parties.

PEASANT—The eternal dupe of all political and religious merchants of salvation, who at election time generally gives his support to those whose ancestors held his forefathers in serfdom. If landless, he sometimes turns radical—helping the Communists to establish a more efficient variety of serfdom.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY—The Communist designation for the political system of the satellite countries in which the subjects vote for a single Communist ticket including also the non-imprisoned ex-leaders of the various suppressed parties, who prefer stoogedom to martyrdom. A system which is closely akin to that of the U.S.S.R. Its "democracy" is as genuine as the "proletarian" character of Russia's dictatorship.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION—A term coined by Marx and made famous by Trotsky. It conveys the simple idea that it is permanently necessary to foment revolutionary uprisings throughout the world until Communist world rule has been permanently established. After that there would be permanent bliss enlivened by permanent purges among the Communists themselves.

PERSECUTION—Interference with one's right to persecute

dissenters. Centuries ago the postulate of religious tolerance was denounced by the Church as tantamount to persecution of the true faith. At present the demand for liberty behind the Iron Curtain is branded by the Tsar's successors and their satraps as fascist-imperialist intervention in the domestic affairs of the USSR and of the "new democracies."

PERSONAL REVOLUTION—What is sometimes accomplished or attempted by an impatient ex-Communist or right-wing Socialist who, without bothering about the decencies of gradual transition, hurries straight into the embraces of the right-wing Republicans or their ultra-reactionary equivalents outside the U.S.A.

PHASE—A stage of development. A term occupying an important place in the vocabulary of Communism. According to the folklore of the USSR, there is a lower and higher phase of Socialism or Communism. Officially, the country is still going through the first phase. Yet there are indications that the transition to the higher phase is not far off. At the outset of the first phase, the managers and office-holders had the *use* of all the automobiles, while the workers, as a whole, "owned them," even though they had no chance to use them. At present the managers and office-holders are entitled to have their own automobiles as well as their own country-houses, while the workers and lower clerical employees "own" not only the factories and mines, but also the Moscow subway, the Lenin Mausoleum and all the Stalin monuments from the Western borders to the Pacific coast. Under a still higher form of Communism *everybody*, that is, *every Communist*, will have a car, a country house, with a swimming pool and the necessary domestic help to take care of them. Under the highest form of Communism the interned political victims will be told that *they* own the slave labor camps.

PHILANTHROPY—The rich man's way of lightening the

burden of the poor. The Christian masters of the converted Roman Empire greatly alleviated the fate of their chattel slaves. They protected them from the danger of being owned by Jews. Fifteen centuries later the Communist conquerors of one third of the world similarly lightened the burden of their wage slaves. They protected them from exploitation by capitalists. It is beside the point that they substituted twenty or more office-holders and managers for every dispossessed propetry owner. *See* OIL INTERESTS.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHIST—A man who remains faithful to his radical principles by standing on the sidelines.

PHILOSOPHY—A term often mistakenly used where the word "terminology" would have been more appropriate. In a eulogy of Lincoln Steffens, a liberal weekly remarked that he "admired people as diverse in their *philosophy* as Mussolini and Stalin."

PITY—A noble sentiment animating all champions of noble causes. The slave-driving commissar's heart bleeds at the thought that the workers may be exploited by the capitalists. And the Nazi mass exterminators could not bear the idea of innocent animals suffering the torments of vivisection.

POACHER—A man who is punished for illegally hunting game on the grounds of those whose ancestors were not punished for illegally acquiring them. According to the *Journal* of the brothers Goncourt, "the bastards of noblemen and priests who still live in the countryside are all poachers. It seems that they have inherited the passion for hunting and the appetites of grandseigneurs." In our day, many impecunious scions of the middle classes are poachers in the field of unorthodox politics prompted by a grandseigneur's passion and a bastard's appetite for power.

POGROM—The Russian term for mass slaughter of Jews during the Tsarist regime. The Soviet system put an

end to outrages of this kind. The mass extermination of various "disloyal" minority groups — Estonians, Latvians, Volga-Germans, Tartars and so on—through deportation to slave labor camps, is not in the same class. For a pogrom is not a pogrom if it makes no religious distinctions.

POLEMIC—The gift of invention. A Nazi biography of Lenin contained the following "data:" "The father of Bolshevism is a Mongoloid with Jewish admixture; his original name was Sederbaum, but he is the son of the Jew Goldman who in 1877 was sent to Siberia for counterfeiting." Reads almost like a Stalinist biography of Trotsky whose assassination by one of Stalin's agents was reported by *Pravda* under the heading of "Death of an International Spy." One year later Father Coughlin's anti-Jewish and pro-Fascist *Social Justice* called Lincoln's assassin a "paid agent of the Rothschilds."

POLICE—According to Ambrose Bierce "An armed force for protection and participation." Wish I had said that. But would I have had the guts to print it?

POLICE STATE—A state like the USA, where, as the Communists complain, any one seen selling the *Daily Worker* in front of a convention hall is sure to get "into the files" of the F.B.I. There is no doubt more freedom in the USSR. No one has ever gotten "into the files" of the G.P.U., the N.K.V.D. or the M.V.D. for selling opposition papers in Russia.

POLITICAL ANIMAL—What man is supposed to be according to Aristotle. But the great philosopher was wrong. It is exactly because man is not a political animal that totalitarians of various brands have been so successful with their propaganda.

POLITICAL MACHINE—Honest political organization with no class bias. Showing no partiality toward the rich or the poor, it permits gamblers to soak the poor, while it soaks the rich in quest of contracts for city projects.

POLITICAL MEETING—A horse-and-buggy method of propaganda that is obsolescent in the radio and TV age. Under old-time Tsarist absolutism all political meetings were prohibited. Under the semi-constitutional regimes of the German and Austrian empires political meetings were officially watched by police officers sitting at the chairman's table. Under the democratic system—French-British-American model — informers tell the police what the speeches were about. In the totalitarian countries meetings are neither supervised nor spied upon: they are called and addressed exclusively by government officials.

POLITICIAN—A minor statesman who prefers the certain pleasures of a bank account to the uncertain delights of immortality.

POLITICS—*See* GANG WARFARE.

POOR MAN—One who, as a rule, hates the poor of another language, religion or color more than he does the rich. That's why "the poor ye shall always have with you."

POPULARITY—A national hero's reward for what he has done for his country. Cromwell, after he had become Lord Protector, slept every night in a different room. Napoleon had himself shaved every day by a different barber. Stalin had to liquidate every year a different set of Russian and non-Russian Communists to enjoy the fruits of the world's greatest revolution.

POTEMKIN VILLAGE—The name given to a form of make-believe invented by Prince Potemkin, the favorite of the Great Catherine, who planted fake villages in the Crimea to deceive a visiting ruler by their prosperous appearance. It was one of Russia's great contributions to political science. One hundred and fifty years later the Turkish dictator paid a visit to Stalin. The buffets at the railway stations at which the train stopped, displayed, at the spurious price of five kopecks, the best rolls and pastries which normally were tagged at two rubles—forty times as much. The civilian popu-

lation "buying" these rolls, while Kemal Ataturk admired Russia's low cost of living, consisted exclusively of G.P.U. agents.

POVERTY—An affliction which, under capitalism, is caused by exploitation. Under what is called "Communism" that affliction persists, but it is self-inflicted. For any one can rise to the top and have a country house, a fine automobile and domestic servants, provided he belongs to the lucky ten per cent who have either the gift to elbow their way ahead of their fellows or the discernment to choose the right parents.

POWER—1. A drug whose stimulating effects are stronger than those of any other political chemical, such as Ideal, Principle, Justice, Honor and so on. Comparable to the flavor of frying bacon of which E. W. Howe said that it beats orange blossoms. 2. That which, in Shelley's words "like a desolating pestilence, pollutes whatever it touches." In totalitarian countries the stains caused by its unholy touch are always washed off—by the blood of rivals or dissenters.

PRAGMATISM—The concept that ideas are tested by their results. Those of Marx had their two historical tests. In Germany they led to Noske and Ebert, strong men of the Socialist Party, who, after the establishment of the Republic in 1918, paved the way for Hitler by entrusting monarchist officers and magistrates with the defense of—democracy. In Russia they led to Stalin.

PRAGUE TRIALS, 1952—The irrefutable proof that the Czechoslovak People's Republic is ideologically independent and far ahead of the U.S.S.R. For it discovered, and clamped down on, the peril of "Jewish capitalism" two months before Moscow did.

PREACHER—A businessman often out for the very opposite of what he pretends to stand for. "Franz Werfel," one of his critics remarked, "amassed a fortune in preaching the religion of poverty." In doing so he merely emulated the Russian "Communists" who at-

tained despotic power by preaching the gospel of liberty.

PROBABILITY—Something on which it is safer not to put any bets. In his *Round Trip to Russia* (1943) Walter Graebner says that "in all probability the Russians believe in their system." So in all probability did the Germans and the Japanese. But their totalitarian rulers would take no chances on free elections. Is it because, "in all probability" they did not believe that their subjects "believed in their system?"

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONIST—A man in the pay of a foreign government who is ready to fight and to die for his instructions which he calls his principles. Neither a dreamer nor a gentleman, he bears the same resemblance to his tragic counterpart of the past century, who was a starving dreamer or a noble adventurer, as does a condottiere to a knight-errant, or a killer of Murder, Inc. fame to a terrorist of the Fenian or "Nihilist" type. As a rule he is somewhat more cultured than the average white collar man and somewhat less squeamish than a gangster or hangman's assistant.

PROFIT-SHARING—An indispensable safety device. Under the capitalist system the property owners share their wealth with politicians, army officers, clergymen and professional men who are instrumental in maintaining the status quo. Under what is called Soviet Communism the elite of office-holders and managers protects its privileges by opening its ranks to the most intelligent ex-workers who, as "trade union" leaders, become the watchdogs of their less fortunate ex-brethren.

PROGRAM—The bait which hides the hook from the human fish. When the fisherman is particularly self-confident and the fish sufficiently benumbed, the bait is sometimes dispensed with. *See* FRANKNESS.

PROLETARIAN—In Marxist terminology, any one working

for a wage or a salary. "I am a salaried man," said Al Smith, ex-Governor of New York, at the time when he held a $50,000 a year job with the Empire State Building, "I have never been anything else. And there isn't any difference between me and any other salaried employee." (N. Y. Post, Oct. 3, 1936). As soon as the American capitalists realize that it is safer to be a "salaried man" à la Smith than to be at the mercy of stock market fluctuations, the United States will become a "classless society" in the same sense—though under a more civilized political setup—as the U.S.S.R.

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY—A regime under which the subjects are so trained that 99.9 per cent of them vote voluntarily for the single ticket composed exclusively of Communists. (Its most recent improvement: the voters have the choice of several tickets—all composed exclusively of Communists endorsed by the Party). Those making up the abstaining 0.1 per cent can always prove that they were either ill or otherwise prevented from doing their democratic and patriotic duty.

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP—In Leninist terminology a regime that is "a million times more democratic than bourgeois democracy." It is beside the point that the enormous majority of those who are supposed to possess power under such a regime either do not know the meaning of that term, or are greatly surprised when told that it signifies their own rule.

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION—The blessed event that enabled the Russian workers to come into their own by saddling themselves with twenty office-holders for every dispossessed capitalist or big land owner.

PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM—The ultra-radical cloak worn by the glorifiers of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great.

PROMISE—A post-dated check drawn on a non-existent bank account. In regular political terminology that

account is spelled "prosperity for all." In the Marxist and Leninist lore it is called "the higher phase of communism."

PROPAGANDA—What according to the heroine of Joyce Cary's *Prisoner of Grace* is "better than murder." For killing the truth seems to be ethically less objectionable than killing men. However, the totalitarians have taught us that propaganda plus murder is incomparably more effective, that is, "better" than propaganda alone.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION—The most advanced form of democracy. Unfortunately, however, it has been discovered that it tends to impede the operation of democracy by enabling all kinds of sectarian crackpot movements to get representation, thus preventing the formation of solid majorities. In other words, the more democracy—the less democracy.

PROSELYTISM—The practice of converting those who would prefer to be left alone. The Communist Party and the Catholic Church strenuously insist upon their right to proselytize whenever and wherever they are in a minority. But they just as strenuously insist upon denying that right to others whenever and wherever they have the power to do so. For they alone are the depositories of the true faith.

PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION—Since the Prague Trials (1952) the unofficial supplement to the collected works of Lenin and Stalin.

PSYCHOANALYSIS—The theory that the leg of a pin-up girl or the biceps of an athlete is of greater interest to the opposite sex than a good dish of leg of lamb or filet mignon. The persuasive force of that doctrine was somewhat impaired by the fact that about 25,000 officers, enlisted men and civilians deserted during one post-war year from under the hammer and sickle to the American zone in Germany in quest of better food and political freedom, while during the same period not

more than two or three American youths chose to stay in Russia or her dependencies because of better erotic fare. The political implication of this discrepancy in numbers did not particularly dismay the comrades. After all, it was a victory of Marx over Freud.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP—Behind the Iron Curtain the One-Big-Trust monopoly of the office-holding class. It is as "public" as the British "public schools" which are in reality private schools for the privileged classes.

PUBLIC WELFARE—A pseudonym for the interests of the best citizens. "To sacrifice individuals to the public welfare," says Remy de Gourmont, "seems to me as absurd as if during a fire one were to sacrifice the tenants in order to save the house." The French skeptic forgot that the matter is not as absurd as it might seem if one bears in mind that saving the house at the cost of the tenants' lives does not appear particularly silly either to the owner or to the fire insurance company.

PURGE—The application to dissenting Communists of those methods which originally were meant only for non-Communists. Giving the insiders the same treatment that was once reserved exclusively for outsiders constitutes Stalin's great contribution to the further development of the principles of Leninism.

"PUTRID BODY."—The term used by Mussolini when he declared that fascism "has already stepped and, if need be, will step again over the more or less putrid body of the Goddess of Liberty." A Communist dictator would never indulge in a shocking tirade of this kind. On the contrary, he would insist that there is no liberty except in the one big concentration camp into which he has converted his country.

R

RACE DISCRIMINATION—*See* EQUALITY OF ALL RACES.

RACKETEER—A rugged individualist specializing in what to his political protectors is only a sideline.

RADICAL DON QUIXOTE—A member of an extinct subspecies of *Homo Romanticus* who, in the past century, would dedicate his life to the cause of a libertarian revolution. He has been survived by the radical Sancho Panza who looks upon revolution as a means of getting a permanent job.

RADICALISM—A political attitude which is comparable to wine: if you add water to it, you ruin it, you become a compromiser, a believer in the "lesser evil." If you don't add water to it, it ruins you: you wind up either as an ineffectual sectarian or a very efficient dictator.

RASTIGNAC—The ambitious climber of Balzac's novels. At the outset of his career he vows one day irreconcilable hostility to the fashionable world—only to dine the very next night with the Baroness de Nucingen, the most despicable specimen of the smart set he hated so much and was so eager to join. Today's Rastignacs do not dine with the Nucingens. They merely move into their mansions after the "proletarian revolution" has "nationalized" them.

REASON—That part of ourselves which, according to Bernard Shaw, "we use only to support our prejudices." When we are as brilliant as G.B.S. we also use it sometimes to scandalize our contemporaries and particularly our admirers by defending Mussolini, Stalin or any other political Jack the Ripper.

RECIPROCITY—A principle which is contrary to all tenets of liberty and fair play. For it would require that Communists in the democratic countries should get

exactly the same treatment that anti-Communists get behind the Iron Curtain.

RED MAGIC—The method which, according to the belief of sincere enthusiasts, will bring about the gradual and peaceful emergence of a democratic or liberal form of socialism out of the totalitarianism of the Kremlin regime. It is called the "dialectical process" which the anti-Communists, as non-Marxists or bad Marxists, are unable to understand.

REFORM—A measure which, coming in time, might prevent a revolution. More often than not it does not come in time. To those whose privileges may be affected by it, it is identical with revolution. So they do their utmost to prevent it, the reform that is, not the revolution.

REFUTATION—The act of disproving the arguments of an opponent. According to whether the locale is situated west or east of the Iron Curtain, that act is written either in the ink of the refuter or in the blood of the refutee.

RELIGION—A confidence game consisting—as the French revolutionist Blanqui put it—in selling the sky in exchange for the earth. Its essential feature—to preach both hope and resignation to fate—is common to all gospels, from Christianity and Islam to Fascism and Communism. Except that the preachers of the latter have been plying their trade in the name of—atheism.

REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE U.S.A.—A giant combine of politicians, office-holders and office-seekers who are primarily partners of the big interests, and only secondarily politicians. Hence they are sometimes prone to court political martyrdom for sponsoring unpopular measures. They despise the "corrupt" Democrats, for they believe that in all fairness only Republican politicians are entitled to the graft which a Republican businessman has to pay in the normal and legitimate pursuits of his affairs.

REVOLUTION—1. A surgical operation performed without anesthetics, which sometimes benefits the grandchildren of the patient. 2. A struggle for ideas to the dreamer; a struggle for power to the man of action. 3. In the practice of modern totalitarian movements, the process of "burning the barn in order to roast the pig," or, to use another simile, of "felling a tree in order to pick some apples"—all the good jobs for the victorious party, that is.

REVOLUTIONARY PHASES — Enthusiasm — Fanaticism —Hypocrisy — Cynicism.

REVOLUTIONIST—1. A politician with a gun. 2. A gangster with a philosophy. 3. A dreamer bent upon martyrdom, who supplies the myth for the maintenance of the new status quo created by the politician and the gangster. 4. A fanatical missionary of a hopeless cause in the nineteenth century; a cynical mercenary of a powerful foreign government today.

REWARDING ENEMIES—An ethical principle, first applied by the Russian Communists. During the first two decades of the Soviet Republic the former capitalists, big land-owners and "kulaks" were not permitted to hold any positions in which they could make use of their education or experience. So they had to become manual workers—the core of the "ruling class." Or is there anything wrong with the basic Marxist formula that once the capitalists are out, the workers become the ruling class?

RICH MAN—1. One who has every reason to be fond of the gospel which tells him "the poor ye shall always have with you." 2. *See* CAIN.

RIGHT-WING SOCIALIST—A leftist politician who, in his commendable eagerness to stop the "left-wing" totalitarians, in some cases becomes so enamored of the status quo that he joins the right-wing non-Socialists.

RISK—That which every strategist, armchair or profes-

sional, military or political, is ready to incur with regard to the lives of those who have no say in the matter. "I don't care how many persons are murdered in the book, as long as there is a happy ending," says a lady in a cartoon published in a literary weekly. Neither does her politically minded sister of Park Avenue, Greenwich Village, or the Grand Concourse, care how many millions are imprisoned, shot, or sent to forced labor in the "Workers' Republic" for criticising the regime, as long as the people are—free.

RITUAL—The traditional verbal or ceremonial hocus-pocus constituting the main attraction of most religious and secular organizations. The Jewish ritual has its Hebrew—incomprehensible to most of its communicants; the Catholic ritual has Latin; the Russian Orthodox—Church-Slavonic. The Marxist creed has Dialectical Materialism. It excels the other secret and sacred languages in that it is incomprehensible not only to the laity but to the priesthood as well.

ROMANTIC—The pure-in-the-heart politician or revolutionist who has never heard of the subconscious mind and who will never suspect that at bottom he is out either for glory or for power.

RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM—*See* ANARCHISM. 2.

RULING CLASS—An honorary title constituting all the reward the poor got for helping the Communists to grab all the positions of authority as well as all the good apartments, automobiles and caviar. "God loves the poor and helps the rich," says a Yiddish proverb.

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SABOTAGE—In the opinion of some, the only weapon which, applied on a mass scale, will eventually put an end to totalitarian tyranny. That method is unfortu-

nately sabotaged by the ancient device of using one half of the workers to spy on the other half.

SACRIFICE—Something that is very laudable if made by the other fellow. In a book on heredity and race hygiene a German professor once stated that it would be possible to eradicate venereal diseases completely, but that "it would be unfair to expect the physicians to sacrifice their livelihood in the interest of public welfare." Neither would it be fair to expect a victorious professional revolutionist to renounce his power merely because the "liberated" masses might like to be ruled by another set of office-holders.

SAINT—A person devoted exclusively to the happiness of those around him regardless of consequences. "I have read," says Georges Duhamel in his *Journal de Salavin*, "that certain dervishes, saints of another shore, but saints just the same, were in the habit, during their walks, to sweep the ground before them in order not to risk hurting or crushing some insect. Yet, in using their brooms, are they not breaking the feet of all those ants, of all those little animals which they intend to spare?" One has also read of modern revolutionists, also saints, after a fashion, who have no compunction about causing the starvation of millions, as long as they could keep power supposedly for the sake of the generations yet unborn.

SALESMANSHIP—Something whose essential nature has been defined by an old Russian proverb to the effect that "he who does not cheat makes no sales." And he who does not murder his competitors, we are taught by the chief salesman of "proletarian emancipation," does not keep power.

SALVATION—Philanthropy of a higher order aiming at the redemption of a religious or political sinner's soul, as a rule without the prospective beneficiary's consent. The Spanish philosopher Unamuno defended the Inquisition on the ground that, when all was said, it was

taking an interest in a man's salvation—even if it was done by burning him alive. The reasoning of the sage of Salamanca, who was a liberal of sorts, was emulated by other liberals of a similar twist who justified similar methods of salvation—they called it liberation —applied to a large section of the human race since 1917.

SATELLITE—An insult flung at those nations of Europe and Asia which have been liberated with the help of the Russian army. They are not only free and independent, but there is even a profound difference between their political systems, known as "people's democracies," and the "proletarian dictatorship," such as exists in the U.S.S.R. In the latter the penalty for dissension is either shooting or the slave labor camp, while in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Albania and so on, it is either hanging or imprisonment.

SAVAGERY—Something which, according to Anatole France's hero, Jerome Coignard, "can be dealt with only by using a more perfect method of savagery." Following this precept, the Communists have done away with capitalist exploitation by introducing one that is much fiercer.

SCAPEGOAT—A sacrificial human animal as indispensable as religion for the maintenance of the status quo—old or new. In Tsarist Russia it was the Jew, in Nazi Germany the Jew and the "Marxist;" in Mexico where there were few Jews or Marxists, it was the Catholic clergyman after the Revolution of 1910. In Bolshevik Russia it was the petty trader, the Socialist and the dissenting Communist. Now, that none of them are left in the U.S.S.R., it is the "homeless, passportless cosmopolitan," otherwise the Jew, once more—just as in Tsarist Russia.

SCHIZOPHRENIA POLITICA—A mental and moral aberration affecting most people engaged in politics. The respectable conservative who balked at the mass ex-

ecutions which disgraced the Russian Revolution fully approved of all the atrocities committed by the various fascist regimes. And the pseudo-liberal who denounced the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, heartily endorses Stalin's purges and "trials."

SCIENCE—What, according to Gustave Le Bon, is created by reason, while "sentiments and creeds shape history." It is different in New Russia. There sentiments, creeds and political expedience create science as well.

SCYTHIA—The ancient name of the territories north of the Black Sea, i.e., of what was later to be called Russia. The Scythians used to gouge out the eyes of their slaves lest their attention be distracted from the process of churning butter. The modern rulers of Scythia merely prevent their slaves from reading dissenting books and papers and listening to foreign broadcasts, lest they ask for some of the butter they have churned.

SECESSION—The romantic dream of the would-be politicians of all small nationalities incorporated in a larger political entity. According to the Soviet Constitution, every constituent republic has the right to secede from the Soviet Union. The fact that propaganda for such a secession is a capital crime is no infringement upon that basic right.

SECTARIAN—The man who is convinced that only his interpretation of the religious or political holy scriptures will supply him and his fellow believers either with free orchestra seats in Heaven or with the key to the Kingdom of Freedom.

SECURITY MEASURE—Conquest of foreign territory undertaken for the sake of its liberation, that is, its incorporation in the Soviet Empire, as contrasted with the imperialism of those who refuse to be liberated.

SELF-CRITICISM—The Soviet substitute for a free press. There are two forms of it: (a) the enforced recantations and self-accusations of "deviationists" from the

party line; (b) attacks against cabinet ministers and other dignitaries slated for dismissal or liquidation.

SELFLESS DEVOTION—The only sentiment which, according to Mike Gold, poet laureate of American Communism, inspires the Russian Communist engaged in "the task of building a free new working class world." For that selfless devotion he merely gets a salary that is anywhere between five and fifty times as high as the wage of the average worker.

SENATE—According to an ancient Latin saying "a vicious beast" (*mala bestia*) although the Senators were individually "good men" (*boni viri*). One wonders what the Romans would have said about Senators who, without challenge, would seat a man whose financial dealings were a national sensation.

SENSE OF JUSTICE—What is aroused in us, according to Karl Kraus, "when we are treated the way we are in the habit of treating others." Written at the turn of the century, this quip of the Viennese satirist anticipated by nearly four decades Tito's rebellion against Stalin.

SENTIMENTALITY—An infantile emotional disease affecting many men who later made good as political realists. Robespierre who, anticipating Stalin, liquidated all outstanding political rivals as "foreign agents," had written poetry in his early youth. Marat atoned for perpetrating a mushy novel by asking for 270,000 heads. Napoleon, who could dismiss a hundred thousand casualties with an obscene joke, in his early twenties used to carry in his pocket Goethe's ultra-sentimental *Werther*. And four score years after the Corsican's death Stalin shed his sentimental eggshells by forsaking a career in the service of the gospel of love.

SERVANT—In political terminology a word often designating the opposite of what it really stands for. "The Soviet State," said an American diplomatic apologist of the Stalin regime, "is not the master but the servant."

"Servant of the servants of God" is the formula following the Pope's name in the bulls issued by the Holy See, the world's oldest totalitarian regime.

SHEEP—An animal whose human counterpart sometimes thinks that he will get better treatment from a pack of Communist office-holding wolves than from a capitalist tiger. The ordinary sheep is too inteligent to make such distinctions.

SIMPLE WORKMAN—What many a labor leader claims to be and is considered to be by the union membership, even though for twenty years he may have been garnering a salary equaling or exceeding that of a bank director. He is somewhat related to the Congressman about whom Damon Runyon once wrote that he "has been on the job for over twenty years mainly on the strength of continually assuring his constituents that he was just a simple country boy. He has been living in Washington off and on for two decades, understand, but he remains a simple country boy. And the constituents believe it."

SINCERITY—As defined by Webster, "freedom from simulation, hypocrisy, disguise, or false pretense." It is reported that the slave trader John Newton enjoyed the sweetest "communion with God" while transporting African slave cargoes, and that on one of such trips he wrote with "perfect sincerity" a hymn still sung by Christian congregations. ("How sweet the name of Jesus sounds / In a believer's ear! / It soothes his sorrows, heals his wounds, / And drives away his fear.") It is with the same sincerity that the present-day Communist slave-drivers write treatises about the emancipation of the working class and the liberation of the colonial peoples.

SKULL—That part of man's anatomy which, emptied of its unnecessary and perishable soft contents, has served many useful purposes in the course of history. The Mongols of Tamerlane's time celebrated their victories

by building pyramids out of the skulls of their enemies. The Mexicans, before the Spanish conquest, planted the heads of tens of thousands of their slaughtered prisoners on their palisade posts. The more practical Indo-European races used the skulls of their enemies as drinking vessels. Our civilized age has done away with such barbarities against enemies. It is only to the children of one's own subjects that the skull treatment is applied again—by stuffing their heads forcibly with the collected works of Stalin, Franco or Evita.

SLANDER—Atomic warfare against your political opponents' reputation. At the outset of the Bolshevik revolution the world at large believed the stories spread by the "Whites" to the effect that the Bolsheviks were killing all those who wore a white collar and knew how to read and write. A generation later a large section of the world's population believed the stories spread by the "Reds" to the effect that all the original Bolsheviks, except Stalin and three or four of his top henchmen, were spies in the service of the various capitalist powers, and that even the mildest criticism of the Kremlin regime was inspired and paid for by Wall Street.

SLAPSTICK—A form of entertainment which threatens the livelihood of the professionals of politics and religion. To those addicted to it pie-in-the-eye has greater appeal than pie-in-the-sky.

SLAVE LABOR CAMP—In the opinion of our spurious "liberals" one of the trivial symptoms of the labor pains of a new and better world in the making. Optimism, we read somewhere, is "the faculty of always being able to see the bright side of other people's troubles."

SLAVERY—1. An institution which, according to Vauvenargues, "debases the souls of men until they love it." Are the Soviet writers and musicians who defend Stalin, sincere, after all? 2. An institution without which according to Marx's friend Engels, "there would have been no Grecian state, no Grecian art and science, and

no Roman Empire. . . no modern Europe. . . no modern socialism" (*Anti-Dühring*). It is apparently out of gratitude that the self-styled "modern socialists" of Russia have restored this beneficent institution to its ancient glory.

SNOBBISHNESS—Conduct common to rich and poor alike and proving the essential brotherhood of man. The Italian peasant, no matter how poor, who owns a mere strip of land, looks with contempt upon the landless laborer. A Jewish salesman in an Eastern European ghetto would not marry the daughter of a shoemaker or coachman. A Spanish tailor would be insulted if he were asked to press a pair of trousers. Chinese chauffeurs wrecked the office of a Chunking newspaper in 1948 for referring to them as "motor car drivers" when the title they claimed was "controller of the engine." And there is the authentic story of the colored butler who left his job rather than serve a white employer who had invited a Negro to dinner. Aside from that the poor man is up in arms against the snobbishness and meanness of the privileged classes.

SOCIAL CONTRACT—An imaginary agreement under which, according to the now discarded theories of Hobbes, Rousseau and others, primitive man has either accepted the absolute authority of the sovereign, or submitted to the "general will." It would seem that in the U.S.S.R., under whose Constitution the workers and peasants "own all the means of publication" and "all the means of production" etc., the lucky "owners," by a sort of new "social contract," have transferred all that ownership for safekeeping to a new nobility, called the Communist Party.

SOCIAL DARWINISM—The theory that man has the right to treat his fellow humans as he would other animals, i.e., either to exterminate them or to use them as beasts of burden. There are three schools among those acting in accordance with this philosophy: those who, like the

Fascists, are cynically glorying in it; those who, like the Communists, are hypocritically disowning it; and those, who, like the "democratic" imperialists, see in it the best method of spreading the humanitarian tenets of Christianity and of Western culture.

SOCIAL-FASCISTS—What the Communists called the democratic Socialists during the late 1920's and early 1930's. That was their "stop thief!" device at the time when they tried to come to an agreement with the Nazis. The term disappeared from the Communist vocabulary when Hitler's failure to respond to Stalin's wooing caused the Soviet rulers to adopt the "Popular Front" policy of the mid- and late 1930s. It backfired after the Moscow-Berlin Pact (1939) when Stalin's alliance with Hitler gave currency to the term "Communazi."

SOCIAL REVOLUTION—The final liquidation of all social injustices and inequalities. It proceeds according to the following pattern: The professional revolutionist of the Leninist school explains to the bright worker that the capitalist robs him. The new convert arouses the masses. Jointly they chase the exploiters. The professional revolutionist takes over the government, the industries and the good things formerly enjoyed by the overthrown masters. The class-conscious worker becomes a well-paid functionary. And the workers? Well —they work.

SOCIALISM—A term embracing all 57,000 theories advocating what is called either "public" or "cooperative" ownership of all or most industries. It is the sincere belief of many advocates of these theories that the workers will get a square deal as soon as the dividend check of the hereditary capitalist property owner has been replaced by the high salary check of the democratically elected or dictatorially appointed office-holder and manager. Some of these theories, dubbed as "equalitarian," are in favor of complete equality of incomes. They constitute the utopian or lunatic fringe of socialism.

For they demand real justice which, of course, is not of this world.

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY—Stalin's early (1924) slogan of building socialism in Russia alone, as against Trotsky's propaganda for world revolution. As time went on it became clear that Stalin's opposition to his rival's dangerous policy of "permanent revolution" merely aimed at substituting for the latter the more prudent strategy of permanent expansion as a result of which the whole world would eventually become *one country* whose capital was Moscow.

SOCIALIST—An honest politician (there are many exceptions), as distinguished from his stepbrother, the Communist, who is a dishonest revolutionist (there are few exceptions).

SOCIALIST STATE—What the Communists insist upon calling the U.S.S.R. They are right of course, for there are 57 varieties of socialism. Diseased harlots also have the right to call themselves members of the fair sex.

SOUR GRAPES—Time-honored and often justified argument against the opponents of those in possession of wealth and power. It fails to account for those who are not prompted by envy but by the Samsonian urge that seizes them when they behold the smug Babbitts using that argument.

SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT—Political opposition. In 1934 the Bulgarian government suspended all municipal elections because the huge Communist vote was a "source of embarrassment" to the regime. After 1945 the new Bulgarian government controlled by the Communists did away once and for all with all possible "sources of embarrassment" by hanging or imprisoning all leaders of the opposition.

SOVEREIGNTY—What the *people* are supposed to exert regardless of the form of government. In the opinion of Khomiakov, reactionary Russian philosopher of the

past century, the Russian people's *obedience* was the outcome of its sovereignty. That paradox of the defender of old-time Tsarist autocracy was apparently the inspiration for the basic tenet of Russia's neo-Tsarist autocracy, according to which the complete enslavement of the masses is the outcome of *their* dictatorship.

SOVIET ECONOMICS—A simple solution to the problem of the mounting cost of living. In 1950 butter cost $4.58 a pound in Moscow; tea, $16.53 a pound; eggs, $5.10 a dozen, and men's shoes (calf) $85 a pair. Considering, however, that all the money paid for these goods reverts to the government which produces them, and considering further that "the government belongs to the producers," the money in the last analysis reverts to those who spend it. So it makes no difference how much they pay. If only they could believe it.

SOVIET SYSTEM—A setup under which, according to the Communists, there is no class rule or privilege, for every citizen has the opportunity to rise from the ranks and to become an office-holder or a manager. In this respect it is similar to the American system which enables *every* rail spitter to become a President, *every* Irish immigrant to become a Mayor or an Ambassador, and *every* miner to work himself up to the $50,000 salary of John L. Lewis.

SPIRITUAL REVIVAL—What, according to General Eisenhower, the United States needs, lest it go "astray" like France where "they have 50 per cent of their people agnostics or atheists." Which is apparently a proof of that nation's inferiority. For, as he put it, "it takes no brains to be an atheist." Any Bible Belt denizen, whether he be a Holy Roller, a Seventh-Day Adventist or a Baptist, will readily agree with that view of the former President of America's outstanding University, whose mind, thank God, has not been corroded by reading such brainless "agnostics or atheists" as Diderot, Renan, Anatole France or Andre Gide.

SPIRITUAL VALUES—The commodities which, like Marxian genetics, Leninist philosophy and Stalinist music, are held to be of greater concern to the Russian workers and peasants than good food and comfortable lodgings. In the age of chivalry embroidery was considered a more important part of a man's wardrobe than a clean under-shirt. However, the simile is not perfect, for the spiritual embroidery offered the Russian masses costs less than the satisfaction of their material needs.

SPLIT PERSONALITY—The Jekyll-and-Hyde complex of *Homo Capitalisticus* and of his Communist antipode. "The American," John Chamberlain wrote, "is a rugged individualist who spends a lifetime trying to get to the top, yet he believes in equality. The American wants as little government as possible, yet he maintains hundreds of lobbies in Washington to manipulate the levers of government in order to get himself tariffs or bonuses or a special price for silver or a tax on oleomargarine." The Communist, too, "believes in equality," yet he finds it justifiable that a Red Army general should get a hundred times as much as a private. He believes in the "withering away," i.e., the disappearance of the State, yet he insists upon total State control of all aspects of public and private activity. He is the only really internationally minded anti-imperialist who advocates independence for the Scots in the United Kingdom and for the Bretons in France, yet he approves of the grabbing of every country that borders on Russia or her satellites.

SPOILS—What the victor gets as his reward for the courage and/or the stupidity of his following. Modern revolutions reward the victorious parties with all the good jobs the "liberated" country has to offer. As to the masses—they get bigger and better police departments to protect that momentous achievement.

STALINISM—1. The ironical climax and anticlimax of five centuries of utopian and "scientific" dreams of and

struggles for, liberation from tyranny and exploitation. 2. The religion of those who, born in the cage behind the Iron Curtain, have never heard Stalin referred to in any other way but "Our Beloved Leader," "Father of the Soviet Peoples," "Coryphaeus of All Sciences," "Greatest Genius of the Earth," "Model of Humaneness," "Our Friend and Our Own Father," "Our Fighting Glory," "Greater than the Highest Sayan Peak," "The Wisest of the Wise," whose "Wisdom is Higher than the Pamir and the Stars."

STARVATION—A crude term for the methods of austerity imposed upon the Russian masses during the collectivization and super-industrialization campaigns of the early 1930's initiated for the purpose of protecting them against the misery that might befall them in case of a military defeat in a future war. There is the story of Ugolino, a medieval character who, in need of food, ate his own children so as to spare them the sad fate of becoming orphans.

STATE—A body politic for which there are as many definitions as there are political philosophers. There are those who believe that its chief task is to use fraud and force for the protection of the privileges of a minority in possession of wealth and power. This definition is of course a gross simplification. It fails to consider the fact that under a democratic system the regime uses comparatively little force and is based chiefly upon fraud, while under absolutism it is the other way around. Things are altogether different under totalitarianism which maintains a perfect equilibrium between the most efficient application of force and the most fraudulent use of what is euphemistically called propaganda.

STATE CAPITALISM—1. A system of government ownership introduced by capitalist politicians, as distinguished from State Socialism which is the same system, if introduced by Socialist or Labor politicians. 2. That

form of capitalism which combines the capitalist feature of inequality of incomes with the socialist feature of government ownership. It is to be distinguished from State Socialism which is the variety of socialism combining the socialist feature of government ownership with the capitalist feature of inequality of incomes. 3. A misnomer; for once the State becomes the only "capitalist" the whole system ceases to be capitalist and becomes "socialist."

STATE SOCIALISM—*See* STATE CAPITALISM.

STATISM—A social system (sometimes called "State Capitalism" or "State Socialism") under which most of the country's economy is run by the State. This may be an advance over private ownership. But if the State is patterned after the U.S.S.R., then there is also "progress" in cannibals' cooking their victims rather than eating them raw.

STATUS QUO—1. The only principle those in possession of power actually stand for. 2. The equilibrium between the privileged minority of crooks provided with spurs and the underprivileged majority of dupes provided with saddles.

STEALING OF VOTES—A procedure quite frequent under the system of capitalist democracy. Things are much better under a "proletarian" democracy. There a man's vote is never stolen; only his right to vote any but the government's ticket.

STIGMA—A permanent disgrace attaching in America to any one with what is called Negro or Jewish blood in his veins. Americans of Indian descent are exempt from this ostracism, for their sires had the good luck of being exterminated before they could arouse the White man's contempt by working on his plantations or by pressing his pants.

STINKER—The designation whose Russian equivalent *smerd* the ruling aristocratic caste officially applied to

the common man in old Russia. The neo-aristocratic rulers of modern Russia know better than to indulge in such verbal sadism. They call their subjects and slaves either "comrades" or "citizens."

STRIKE—The workers' peaceful revolt against the sanctity of the profit system. In many cases this sometimes effective protest against social injustice has been used by the employers as a welcome pretext for reaping still greater profits at the expense of the consumers. Once upon a time there were those who dreamed of a general strike that would put an end to this game. They were effectively taken care of by the Department of Justice. Or else they gave up their dreams and sublimated their impossibilist radicalism by joining Stalin's Fifth Column. *See* WOBBLIES.

STRIKE-BREAKING AGENCY—A venerable American institution for the protection of liberty. It was forced out jointly with the Hoovervilles and the apple-selling business by the "creeping socialism" of the New Deal. Under what is called Soviet Communism, this institution never existed, its functions having been performed from the start by what, behind the Iron Curtain, they have chosen to call "trade unions."

STRONG LANGUAGE—What the poor always demand from their leaders. It is of secondary importance whether it is used against the rich, the radicals, the Jews, the Negroes or the immigrants.

STUPIDITY—Along with force and fraud the immemorial foundation of every status quo. Its contemplation has enabled some philosophers to grasp the idea of the infinite.

SUBCONSCIOUS MIND—The blot on one's soul's escutcheon. An idealist suffering for a good cause was scandalized when his psychoanalyst found at the bottom of his heroic urges a frustrated vanity and lust for power. He had to be told that many a respectable Virginian who consulted old records to establish his noble origin,

learned to his dismay that his first American ancestor was a common convict deported from England.

SUBLIMATION—"The turning of an obstructed impulse away from its primitive aim into activities of a higher order" (Webster). The unsophisticated rebel fights. The sophisticated sublimates his heroism by glorifying the madness of the brave.

SUCKER—A member of the majority of the human race. He usually belongs to one of the two parties constituting that majority: the unpolitical and the uncritical. The latter are often inclined to embrace one kind of "radicalism" or another. In Europe, anti-Semitism, "the socialism of fools," once commanded his support to a large extent. But as, with the decline of Fascism, this brand of "socialism" receded as a political factor, what is called "Communism" has begun to appeal to his fancy—particularly since it added the "Jewish capitalist conspiracy" to its ideological armory. In America, which is behind the times, he just as easily falls for the Neanderthal anti-Communism of the McCarthys and for the charm of a politically innocent general.

SUPER-MARXIST—A consistent believer in all tenets of Marxism. If he opposes the Stalin regime, he sometimes gets himself into the position of Tertullian of believing-because-it-is-absurd fame. He sees tyranny and exploitation in Russia—but he sees no classes back of them; for the capitalists and land-owners, the only exploiters Marx could think of in connection with the industrial era, have been completely eliminated. The office-holders, according to Marx, were neither a class nor exploiters. Hence to a good Marxist who is not a Communist, there is only one exploiter in Russia—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. All the rest of the population—both those who use Rolls Royces and those who cling to the rear of a bus—are just Stalin's slaves working for him who owns everything. Such was the learned analysis given by Rudolf Hilferding, Socialist Minister

of Finance under the Weimar Republic and one of the world's outstanding Marxist savants.

SUPER-PROLETARIAN—A Soviet citizen who is like any other worker in the U.S.S.R., only more so. In *These Are the Russians* by the pro-Soviet writer, R. E. Lauterbach, there is the following passage: "The section where director Nosov resided was surprising in a totally different way. Suddenly you left Nevada City of the wide open mining days and found yourself in Tarrytown, Bronxville or some other upper-class New York suburb. Our convoy of cars rolled smoothly up a paved, three-laned, tree-lined avenue. On both sides of us were solid, prosperous, Tudor-style, two-story stucco houses, surrounded by spacious grounds, well-groomed shrubs and stout iron fences. This is where the highly paid, highly skilled technicians and executives of Magnitogorsk lived." Otherwise there are no classes in the Soviet Union.

SURPLUS VALUE—Marx's designation for the toiler's unpaid labor and the symbol of the wickedness of capitalism. Came the Bolshevik Revolution and the term had no application to Russia's new economic reality, even though the exploitation of the workers was intensified beyond anything the capitalists ever dreamt of. For surplus value ceases to be what it is, and the workers' unpaid labor loses its ugly aspects, if its proceeds no longer go into the pockets of the profit-making capitalist, but are distributed as salaries to an army of high-paid office-holders and managers. It is a pity that the mass of the low-paid manual workers of Russia are too dumb to derive much consolation from this subtle distinction.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST—The theory that he who kills last kills best. The elected Soviets vanished, the Trotskyists and the Old Guard Bolsheviks vanished, but the Cheka-G.P.U.-N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. remained.

SWALLOWING—The average man's enviable ability to be

persuaded or at least not to be disturbed by two contradictory lines of argument at the same time. In the same leaflet Hitler once attacked the Socialists for (1) being "unscrupulous fomentors of class hatred"—this was the proper approach to the frightened bourgeoisie; and (2) for having "made peace with modern capitalism"—an obvious ultra-radical bow to the dissatisfied workers. Thus he got the shekels of the rich and the votes of the poor.

SWIVEL CHAIR—The substance of the suppressed desires of most contemporary idealists opposing social injustice. After World War I the struggle for oil caused dangerous frictions among the victorious Allies. At that time a French pacifist coined the winged phrase: "Do we have to die for a pipe line?" After World War II the French Communists strained all their efforts to bring about a revolution. However, there were too many Frenchmen who asked: "Do we have to die for *your* swivel chair?"

SYMBIOSIS—Close and permanent "living together" of individuals of different species for the purpose of attracting, i.e., preying upon, other living organisms. In human society that process manifested itself in the alliance of the priest and the nobleman against the serf; in the partnership of the capitalist and the politician against the have-nots; and finally under Soviet "Communism" in the cooperation of the office-holder, the army officer and the manager against the great mass of the "know-nots." There are those who see in this latest form of exploiting symbiosis the realization of the dream of human brotherhood.

SYMPATHIZER—In Communist politics, one who is in sympathy with those who use him as political cannon fodder.

SYMPATHY—A noble sentiment that raises man above the brute. The modern revolutionist sympathizes with the misery of the masses and suggests as a remedy the

seizure of power by his party. "Daddy, give me a nickel," said the bright little girl, "there is a poor man around the corner selling ice cream."

SYNDICALISM—1. A revolutionary, truly proletarian theory which advocates "all power to the trade unions" upon the overthrow of capitalism. It is not good form to tell a Syndicalist that this slogan means "all power to the trade union leaders" and that the rule of the latter would differ little from the rule of the professional socialist politicians. 2. A revolutionary trade union movement which cannot survive its own growth. For as soon as the unions upon which it is based become strong, their leaders turn respectable and forsake their erstwhile revolutionary-syndicalist slogans and dreams.

SYNONYM—A trick of sleight of hand by which two entirely different things are declared to be identical. In his *Jean Christophe* Romain Rolland speaks of the French liberal who, "torn between his acquired humanitarianism and his instinctive chauvinism. . . found at last a formula which settled everything: France became simply synonymous with humanity." Our modern revolutionist, torn between his professions of liberty and his lust for power, has likewise found a satisfactory formula: the dictatorship of his party became synonymous with the "emancipation of the working class."

SYPHILIS—The badge of manhood and of genius, from Ulrich von Hutten, through Schopenhauer, Heine, Lassalle, Nietzsche, Maupassant to Mussolini. "Love passes —but syphilis remains," said the French poet Laurent Tailhade. Likewise after victory, revolutionary idealism passes, but power remains. And there is no remedy against it. For those fighting it become themselves infected by its virus.

T

TABOO—*See* FAUX PAS.

TAMMANY—Politics without ideological masquerades.

TEAPOT DOME—The perfect Democratic repartee in the contest of principles with their rivals.

TEMPO OF PROGRESS—An unpredictable magnitude. It took our ancestors thousands of years to advance from the phase of killing their prisoners to that of enslaving them. It took the modern Russians less than two decades to pass from execution cellars to slave labor camps.

TEMPTATION—That which is supposed to be resisted. Of most fighters for freedom one can say that they are above all temptation, except that of seating themselves on the backs of those they have liberated.

THEORIST—A political beautician providing his customers with ideological make-up.

THINKING—An activity in which, according to Ludwig von Mises, the masses are unable to participate. "But just for this reason," he continues, "they follow those who think." But does Mises think that those who think actually think about the welfare of those who do not think?

THRILL MURDER—The highest form of sadism which sometimes branches out into politics. Affects the lowest and the highest specimens of the human race. There are those who suspect that Bernard Shaw's admiration first for Mussolini and later for Stalin's methods of "weeding the garden" was at bottom a sublimated thrill murder *en masse*. After all, Marquis de Sade was also a gifted writer and a radical to boot, whose most famous public oration was a funeral eulogy of Jean Paul Marat. The would-be dictator's and super-terrorist's

demand for 270,000 counter-revolutionary heads seems to have had a particular appeal to the somewhat sadistic Marquis.

"TIME FOR A CHANGE."—The moment when, in the opinion of the electorate, another set of public servants should, in all fairness, be permitted to help themselves. "Let it get worse," says the Ukrainian, "as long as it is different."

TIP—A gratuity which, for all its degrading implications, is not always rejected by persons above the status of flunkeys and waiters. In his *Spirit of Russia*, Masaryk tells of the Orthodox monk in Russia's holiest monastery who, in spite of his asceticism and his saintly appearance, expected an earthly tip after he had guided visitors around the sacred grounds. The revolutionary ascetic of our time wants neither a tip nor even a job. All he wants is unlimited power.

TITOISM—A revolutionist's conversion to liberty, judicial procedure, and the sanctity of human life, as soon as, in the course of events, other revolutionists place him, too, among those whose liquidation appears necessary for the victory of the good cause.

TOLERANCE—Indifference to the spreading of error—a symptom of bourgeois-liberal decadence, equally condemned by the followers of the Gospel according to Ignatius Loyola and of the Gospel according to Vladimir Lenin.

TORY—A term once upon a time applied to bandits, robbers, marauders. Now it stands for an extreme conservative defending the law and order established by those who had robbed the masses of their right to own and to enjoy the wealth of their country.

TOTALITARIAN COMMUNISM—The conversion of an entire country into one joint stock company in which the Communist top leaders constitute the Board of Directors; in which dividends are paid in the form of high salaries

to the directors, managers, engineers, overseers, foremen, spies and guards whose respective stakes in the social hierarchy correspond to larger or smaller blocks of shares held by property owners in capitalist countries; and in which a subsistence standard of living is the lot of the ordinary worker and lower white collar employee—each member of the latter two groups owning, figuratively, one share of the company stock, which entitles him to cast his vote for the Board of Directors' single list of candidates submitted by the Board itself.

TOTALITARIAN MAGIC—Making a Roman holiday appear at a distance either as grand opera or as a passion play.

TOTALITARIANISM—The total enslavement of the human race, disguised as its total emancipation, either through the establishment of a "total" State (Fascism), or through the total abolition ("withering away") of the State by means of the total subjection of all countries to the Universal Police Department which will take charge of a totally stateless Communist world.

TRADE RELATIONS—As between the U.S.S.R. and the "people's democracies" a brotherly transaction of selling Russian goods above, and buying satellite goods below the world market price.

TRADE UNION LEADER—In most cases an honest defender of the workers' interests against their employers, he seems to be distrusted by the bulk of the membership. For the fabulous salaries forced upon the top leaders by a seemingly grateful following have often been explained as a bribe that would render them immune against the temptation of accepting bribes from the employers. But such is their devotion to the cause that so far they have borne without protest the increasing humiliation of this insulting distrust.

TRADITION—The time-honored ally of force in maintaining unfreedom and inequality.

TRAGEDY—The predicament of the libertarian who hates

dictators but finds it hard to love the "sovereign" people. For the former deprive him of his freedom, while the latter persistently saddle him with democratically elected mountebanks, crooks, ignoramuses and obscurantists.

TRANSITIONAL PHASE—The tragic difficulty which confronts every radical school advocating the abolition of oppression and exploitation. For between the capitalist hell of wage slavery, and the socialist, communist, syndicalist or anarchist heaven of social and economic equality, there stands the inevitable period of transition with its dictatorial or democratic bureaucracy, its military officers and technical experts, all of whom will insist upon the necessity of a strong government and of higher emoluments and softer jobs for the owners of superior brains. And the transitional phase becomes "transitional" only in a cosmic sense, for its beneficiaries will use their newly acquired power for the purpose of perpetuating that "phase" until a new revolution ushers in a new transitional phase, with another set of "transitional" office-holders.

TRAP—The enviable dilemma facing a top Communist leader of a satellite country. If he loyally squeezes his subjects dry in the interests of Moscow, he will be eventually liquidated as a scapegoat to placate the aroused new subjects. If he takes it easy, he will be liquidated as a saboteur. If a Jew—he will be accused of Zionism; if a non-Jew—of Titoism.

TRINITY—A combination of arithmetic and mysticism stemming from ancient India and taken over by Christianity. Its value has been recognized by Russia's present state religion as well. For Communism, too, has its Holy Trinity. And, just as in the Christian mythology, the Son (Stalin) has exceeded in importance the Father (Lenin) and the Holy Ghost (Marx).

TROJAN HORSE—A well-trained animal of mixed parentage, begotten as a result of miscegenation between the

power-mad "ins" east of the Iron Curtain, and the power-hungry "outs" west of it.

TROTSKY—The philosopher-king of a great empire who was dethroned and finally murdered by a cunning super-politician, and whose protest against the bloody usurper met with little response. For the malcontent job-aspirant prefers to court the man in power while the lover of freedom suspects that a fallen dictator's abhorrence of tyranny is as permanent as a sick tiger's aversion to meat.

TROTSKYIST—A dissident Communist who resents being treated by a party machine the way he would have no compunction of treating Liberals, Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and unorthodox Communists of another hue. (There are heretical, unofficial Trotskyists in the United States of whom it is difficult to say whether they are democratic socialists pretending to believe in the mystique of early Bolshevism, or crypto-Bolsheviks pretending to be democratic socialists.)

TRUTH—That elusive substance which, according to the Communist President of Poland, is determined by "the majority in every community." He forgot to add that under his regime it was the government, and not the voters, that determined what constitutes a majority.

U

ULTRA-LEFTISM—The theory that a true radical should take no sides in the conflict between the totalitarian and non-totalitarian powers. For the proletarian lamb will be shorn regardless of who rules the world until "real," that is ideal democratic socialism is established throughout the globe. The champions of that philosophy forget that the dictators are in the habit of going further than merely taking the wool, and that it is preferable to be shorn rather than to be skinned alive.

UN-AMERICAN—In the opinion of those using the term, any one from a "dynamiter" to a right-of-center New Dealer.

UNDERDOG'S PROGRESS—The British way: a former miner in Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Cabinet is appointed Viceroy of Scotland. *Every* worker can become a gentleman. The American way: a former miner having become president of his union, at $50,000 annually plus expenses, has a suite at the Waldorf-Astoria and a few country homes. *Every* worker can become a millionaire. The Russian way: a former metal worker becomes Minister of National Defense after the Civil War. *Every* worker can become head of the world's largest army.

UNDERSTATEMENT—A polite way of stating the truth by reporting a beheading as a hemorrhage. A Catholic textbook for Italian children in America, in a short biography of Galileo, skipped the facts of his persecution and merely mentioned that in his old age, watching the stars from a high tower, Galileo was wont to repeat his favorite saying *eppur si muove* (and yet it moves). In 1925 a Russian Communist calendar, in a short biographical note about Maria Spiridonova, the heroine of the abortive revolution of 1905, tersely remarked that "now" (in the 1920's) she was "living in complete isolation," which could mean that she had voluntarily withdrawn from public life. That was a tactful way of saying that because of her opposition to the Bolshevik dictatorial methods she had been placed in an insane asylum.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF—An anti-social measure which helps maintain unemployment. The latter could be best remedied by enabling those out of work to stand on their own feet by selling that commodity which made Eve and the snake famous. This would eventually help raise wages after a few million competitors on the labor market had disappeared—by becoming independent businessmen and employers. Such, at least seems to be

the view of the orthodox economists of the Hayek-Mises school and of their illustrious followers—Hoover, Taft and Eisenhower.

UNFAIR COMPETITION—Fighting us with our own crooked methods. At the time when the German Communists and Nazis were competing for the attention of the masses, the Communist *Parteiarbeiter* (Party Worker) of September, 1930, was highly indignant because an entire issue of the organ of the Nazi propaganda department was filled exclusively with "instructions as to how the Nazis could best deceive the masses by using our methods and slogans."

UNIFORM—A sartorial confirmation of the "dialectical" theory of the contradictions inherent in all things. Plain-clothes men who, by giving protection to underworld activities, have "earned" more than a Senator for similar activities on a higher level, are often punished by being transferred to the uniformed forces. Thus the uniform, which is supposed to symbolize the law, has at the same time become the symbol of the opposite as well.

UNJUST DISCRIMINATION—The prejudiced attitude of those who object not only to Jews, Mexicans, Orientals and Negroes, but also to Italians and other minority groups of the Catholic faith.

"UNJUST TREATMENT"—What, according to a polite understatement by a TV commentator sponsored by America's largest oil concern, the Jews were exposed to in the Nazi extermination camps of Belsen, Auschwitz and elsewhere.

UNSELFISHNESS—One of the aspects of extreme idealism. The Communists are in the front ranks of those distinguished by this virtue. They are ready to advocate free speech for all countries except those under their own domination.

USE AND WONT—The force which, according to Thorstein Veblen, is responsible for the fact that "men are bound

together in the service of their predacious masters by an inveterate and unreflecting solidarity of national conceit, fear, hate, contempt and an enthusiastically slavish obedience to the constituted authorities." Glory to the madness of the brave who hope to break that force!

USURY—An unromantic method of robbing the poor and the rich alike. The common man who is an incurable admirer of force holds no grudge against the descendant of the feudal lord or of the robber baron who waylaid his great-grandfathers or held them in the bondage of serfdom. His hatred is reserved exclusively for those he considers the offspring of the ancient Jewish money-lender who emptied his neighbor's purse by the more civilized weapon of crooked arithmetic. For he believes (a) that *only* Jews were money-lenders and (b) that *all* Jews were engaged in that profession.

UTOPIA—1. The religion of those among the disinherited who no longer fall for the promise of a ringside seat in Heaven. 2. The heaven on earth for whose establishment, according to H. G. Wells, it is necessary to seize power, except that, again in the opinion of Wells, those who can seize power are more interested in maintaining their power than in creating an earthly paradise for the underdog.

V

VERSATILITY—The ability to believe or to pretend to believe at the same time in mutually contradictory creeds or theories. Of the hero of his *Bouddha Vivant,* Paul Morand says that "he was versed both in chemistry and magic, in medicine and incantations." In Stalin's Russia they believe in democracy and dictatorship, in universal suffrage and the one-party system, in the emancipation of the working class and the slave labor camps, in atheism and the divine infallible Trinity of Marx, Lenin and Stalin.

VILLAIN—Believe it or not, it was originally the French (*vilain*) term for the inhabitant of a village, i.e. a peasant who, to the French nobleman and city dweller, was an ugly, repellent and depraved person. In time the peasant became a respectable farmer, and the farmer a profiteer and exploiter of labor. It is he who now speaks of villains whenever anybody objects to the high prices he charges or to the low wages he pays.

"VIOLATION OF LIBERTY"—The "stop thief" device of tyrants, old and new. Two centuries ago the Polish noblemen would cry out against the violation of their ancient liberties when any one dared to suggest the emancipation of their serfs. Today the Communists and the Fascists cry "counter-revolution" and "reaction" if any one suggests free elections in their respective countries.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING—Education in some useful trade. Records of the remote past describe special schools for poisoners. Training establishments for beggars and pickpockets were a later development. Today we have academies for spies, saboteurs and propagandists.

VOLUNTARY ACCEPTANCE—A synonym for submission to compulsion. The slave in medieval Lithuania, one reads in a friendly report about that country's customs, "accepted voluntarily his death by burning alive on the pyre with the body of his master." Several centuries later, to be more exact, in 1940, Lithuania accepted just as voluntarily its "union" with the U.S.S.R.

VOLUNTARY SLAVERY—The idea that the enslavement of the masses is merely the outcome of their own will to submit to authority. "A rabbit," according to Karl Kraus' lampoon on the psychoanalysts, "that was swallowed by a boa constrictor wanted merely to investigate what it looked like inside."

VOTE—A citizen's most valuable possession which, however, he is not permitted to sell. There are no such restrictions in the totalitarian countries where a single

ticket has been introduced in order to place the citizens beyond that temptation.

W

WAR—That which, according to Georges Clemenceau, the "Father of Victory" of World War I, "is too serious a matter to be entrusted to the generals." This is apparently why since the great French statesman's time the generals in one country after another, particularly in the Americas, have been entrusting themselves with the conduct of civilian affairs as well.

WELFARE STATE—A dastardly invention of Socialists and New Dealers who are out to establish a system which is only one step removed from the security offered by prison. Such at least is the view of America's foremonst crusader whose prestige, in 1952, helped to saddle the United States with a party which once made this country safe for apple-vendors and Hoovervilles.

WHITE COLLARITE—A person whose spelling is above, but whose earnings are as a rule below those of an organized manual worker. He refuses to join a union for he is sure that sooner or later he will marry the employer's daughter and become a member of the National Association of Manufacturers or of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. When he loses his illusions he may at last become a cold realist and—join whatever totalitarian movement has in his opinion the best chances to win.

WHITE SUPREMACY—The theory that "niggers" like Pushkin, Dumas, Washington Carver, Marian Anderson and Richard Wright were created by God to shine the shoes and to scrub the floors of the Rankins and the Talmadges.

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN—Rudyard Kipling's best joke.

"WITHERING AWAY"—*See* LIQUIDATION OF THE STATE.

WOBBLIES—American radicals, now extinct, whose persecution and destruction was part of President Wilson's crusade to make the world safe for democracy. Some of those who survived the prison terms or escaped the vigilantes' rope put the finishing touches to their total liquidation by committing moral harakiri. Once the romantic knights-errant of America's proletarian revolution they became the unromantic traveling salesmen of Russian imperialism.

WORKERS GOVERNMENT—A pseudonym. When during the early 1920's the Communists, in discussing the revolutionary prospects outside of Russia, launched the slogan of a "workers' government," Zinoviev, then president of the Communist International, declared: "A workers' government means the same thing as the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the pseudonym of the Soviet Government. It is easier [to understand] for the plain workers. That's why we want to use this formula." Zinoviev has since been liquidated along with all the old Bolsheviks, but his "formula" is very much alive.

WORKERS PARTY—The name often assumed by Communists—apparently because they have been using the workers to obtain power. There was a syphilitic who claimed he was a mercurial personality because he used mercury at a time when salvarsan and penicillin were still unknown.

WORLD REVOLUTION—1. The upheaval which, according to the Communist theorists of the 1920's, would occur in the Western countries after Russia's economic development and general welfare had outstripped all other countries, including America. On the other hand, there are those who believe that revolution may actually come to the West if its workers should ever become as happy as they are under Soviet rule. 2. The pseudonym for world conquest.

Z

ZIONISM—1. The theory that outside of Israel the Jews are "exiles" in every country, regardless of how they themselves and the most civilized non-Jewish inhabitants of the country concerned may feel about it; and that the nationality of a Heine, a Marx, a Bergson, a Freud, a Disraeli or a Luzzatti is determined not by the culture of the land in which he grew up, but by the religious and social prejudices of the most backward sections of its population. 2. The assumption that for the Jews the best alternative to the prejudices of their European and American "hosts" is the fierce hostility of the Asiatic and African neighbors of Israel.

THE GOLDEN FLEECE

Bread and Power

According to Lenin, the main issue of every revolution is the question of power. According to Heinrich Heine, it is the question of bread for the people. The epicurean poet who had no political ambitions was closer to the masses than the ascetic rebel who identified *his* hunger for power with the more prosaic hunger of the underdog.

The Substitute

Risking their lives for what they call freedom and justice when victory seems out of reach, and modestly accepting power as a perfectly satisfactory substitute when victory is at hand—such, in a nutshell, is the life story of most rebels who do not die young.

Method

"What matters the bottle, as long as it intoxicates," says the cynical lover in one of Musset's playlets. "What matters the method, as long as it secures power," says the totalitarian cynic of today and changes his "principles" and his tactics with each new set of instructions.

Favorite Topic

Balzac scandalized his admirers by turning in conversation from literary criticism to his favorite subject—his enormous royalties. The professional revolutionist does not scandalize his followers when he turns from the criticism of the existing evils to his favorite topic—the seizure

of power. For he manages to persuade his listeners that *they* will share in it.

The Cloak

Struggles for principles usually take the form of personal contests for leadership and power. But more often than not rivalry for leadership and power dons the cloak of a struggle for principles.

Too Much

"When it comes to women and money," says Beaumarchais in his *Barber of Seville*, "there is no such thing as too much." Neither is there such a thing as too much when it comes to power.

Revolutionary Government

The Fascist says: "I want a strong national government." The Communist says: "I want a working class government." The Anarchist used to say: "I want no government." But what they all mean or meant is: "*I* want to run the government."

Preachers of Freedom

More than a century ago the great German democrat Ludwig Boerne wrote: "In our days tyrants are the most dangerous preachers of freedom." The experience of a century has shown that, inversely, the preachers of freedom more often than not become the most dangerous tyrants.

Three Hundred Per Cent

According to a passage quoted by Marx in his *Capital* there is no crime a capitalist would not commit if he saw a 300 per cent profit beckoning. Neither is there a crime a "Marxist" of the Stalin school would recoil from if he saw a good opportunity to obtain and maintain absolute power for himself and his party.

Alas!

The libertarian opposes totalitarianism in the name of liberty of opinion and he hopes to win the masses over to his cause. But, alas, the masses have no notion of what

liberty of opinion means, for their minds are dominated by prejudices, desires and hopes. And as for the bulk of the intellectuals—what they want is power, even if they sometimes mislabel it freedom.

Points of View

The Crowd: The first thing we need are better living conditions. The Liberators: No! The first thing you need are better leaders.

THE LOCOMOTIVES OF HISTORY

The Car of Juggernaut

In the age of innocence Karl Marx called revolutions the "locomotives of history." Nearly a century later the great upheaval led by his self-styled disciples, suggested a more appropriate vehicle to which a modern totalitarian revolution must be likened. Considering the fate of the masses behind the Iron Curtain, it would seem that the Communists, their eyes turned to the East, were out to lend reality to the anti-Hindu slanderous myth of the pilgrim masses periodically crushed to death under the wheels of the giant car of Juggernaut, the "Lord of the World."

The Semi-Bestial Era

"Revolutions," France's greatest orator Jean Jaurès said at the turn of the century, "represent a barbarous form of progress. No matter how noble, how fructifying, how necessary a revolution may be, it nevertheless belongs to an inferior and semi-bestial era of the human race." The human race is much luckier now. It has passed from the semi-bestial era of revolutions to the civilized age of world conquest by men of steel and blood whose effective police methods will make all revolutions impossible.

Unmasking

Successful revolutions may not always relieve the mis-

ery of the masses, but they generally succeed in unmasking most of the revolutionists.

Reform or Revolution

If you have no future, you favor reforms. If you have no present, you join the forces of revolution.

Kashmir

The idealist who chafes under the injustices of his surroundings sees in the far-away revolution a beautiful goddess on whose wings are written in flaming letters the words Liberty and Equality. As the revolution succeeds, he will become either her self-deluded pensioner who still sees reality through the colored glasses of his old dream; or her disappointed and discarded lover who will sadly recall what visitors to India say about Kashmir: "It looks beautiful and smells horrible."

Belated Discovery

The Bolshevik Revolution, far from emancipating the workers, gave all the power to a new set of office-holders. But some of the leading Bolsheviks failed to notice it until they were cheated out of their seats in the council of the mighty.

Pure and Impure

"He who expects a pure social revolution will never live to see it"—these words of Lenin contain an undeniable truth. Unfortunately, his "impure" social revolution turned out to be merely the substitution of a new elite of office-holders, managers, and army officers for the old elite of capitalists and landowners.

Bungling

The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the German Revolution of 1918 more than confirmed the melancholy remark which Friedrich Hebbel, the great German dramatist of the nineteenth century, made about the events of 1848: "A bungled revolution is a bungled century." Still more melancholy than that remark is the fact that all revolutions are bungled since by and large the revolution-

ists are more interested in consolidating their power than in keeping the promises held out to the masses. For the revolutionist of today is the opportunist of tomorrow.

Ultra-Radicalism

A character in Anatole France's *Reine Pedauque* shows his contempt for money by forgetting to pay the men in his employ. In a similar way "proletarian" revolutionists are in the habit of showing their disdain for bourgeois liberalism by suppressing all liberties.

Needs and Expenses

"Love," says Karel Capek, "is the method of satisfying small needs at big expense." And so is war and revolution.

Robespierre With a Difference

In Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*, one of the noblemen declares that "the return of Robespierre was possible on account of those young people of the lower classes who are too well educated." Those "young people of the lower classes" are now the revolutionary masters of a large part of the globe—and, alas, they have inherited from Robespierre only his cruelty, but not his incorruptibility.

Reputation

"You have millions," says a character in Romain Rolland's *Jean Christophe* to a rich lady who was worried about the hereafter, "and you would like to have an immortal soul into the bargain?" Today our victorious rebels, not satisfied with unlimited power, want to enjoy reputations as liberals and democrats into the bargain.

Romantics

Of Flaubert's heroine, Emma Bovary, it was said that she found in adultery the same boredom she had experienced in marriage. The romantic in politics eventually finds in revolution the same corruption he had spurned when confronted by bourgeois politics.

Means and Ends

"Means determine ends," says Aldous Huxley in *Eyeless*

in Gaza (1936)—an idea which nearly eighty years before had been anticipated by the famous German Socialist Ferdinand Lassalle in his drama *Franz von Sickingen* (1859). What a pity every succeeding generation of revolutionists thinks it can establish the kingdom of freedom by installing a *new* set of tyrants and a *new* caste of parasites.

The "Ins" and the "Outs"

The prosperous "in" and the malcontent "out" are brothers under the skin when confronted by the basic problems of politics. In rejecting the idea of revolution under the system of political democracy the "in" will say that the revolutionist takes an anti-democratic attitude when he scorns, on the ground of its alleged stupidity, the voice of the people, as expressed at the polls. However, in defending the unequal distribution of the good things of life, the same "in" maintains that this inequality is quite natural and inevitable because the majority always has been and always will remain "dumb." The revolutionist in turn—when confronted by the theory of the "iron law of oligarchy," according to which an ever changing ruthless and cunning minority, by using force and fraud, will always sit on the back of the incompetent majority—replies that this theory is closely related to the "in's" argument that the "dumbness"of the poor is the cause of their permanent plight. However, as a champion of revolution, he will have no compunction in using the stupidity of the majority as an argument against democratic "gradualism." Only a revolutionary government, says he, composed of his own partisans, represents the real interests, the real intelligence of the workers who will begin to "rule" as soon as their self-styled liberators have seized power. And the guaranty that their government will not become a new oligarchy in its turn? That guaranty apparently consists in the fact that power will be the exclusive possession of the only really true interpreters of the infallible ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky; and that for this rea-

son it will be miraculously exempt from the iron law of corruption by power.

Foresight

After the Moscow trials and purges a disenchanted ex-radical asked the pertinent question: "Why work for a revolution that is going to devour you?" There is no answer to that. But revolutions often happen whether revolutionists work for them or not. And thus the wise rebel, when overtaken by the great event, will do well to emigrate before it is too late. Unless, of course, he is absolutely sure that he will always be able either to turn his coat in time, like Fouché, or to do all the devouring—like Stalin.

Alternative

Revolutionary power gets either into the hands of soft liberals or into those of hard-boiled radicals. The weakness of the former eventually permits the defenders of the old system to come back. If the radicals get the upper hand, as they did in Russia, they establish a tyranny worse than the one that was swept away by the revolution. Faced by this cruel alternative, the humanitarian opponent of an intolerable status quo has no choice but to write melancholy epigrams.

The Chamber and the Pickaxe

Indignant at the way in which the Communists' former idol Leon Trotsky was insulted after his fall by "the brethren of his orthodoxy," the Rumanian journalist Valeriu Marcu wrote that all this "proved only one thing which is really no revelation, to wit, that the revolutionists are made of the same slimy material as all other individuals. Under the Cardinal-Minister Mazarin a diplomat coined the following precept for the courtiers of all systems and parties: 'As long as a Cabinet Minister is in power and in favor, hold the chamber under him. If he has to quit, pour the contents of the pot upon his head.'" A few years later Stalin had one of his men vindicate the

dignity of the revolution by substituting a pickaxe for the unseemly contents of that unseemly vessel.

THE GREAT RACKET

Politics in a Nutshell

"In the interests of the city," Balzac says about a character in his *Eugénie Grandet,* "he ordered the construction of excellent roads to his properties."

One Long Step Removed

"Politicians," said Lincoln, "are a set of men who have interests aside from the interests of the people and who are, taken as a mass, at best one long step removed from honest men." Had America's greatest President been able to look into the future of his own party, he would have realized that—as far as some of its most vociferous spokesmen were concerned—"one long step" was an understatement, to say the least.

The Spider

"In every philosophical sect," says Nietzsche in his *Human, All-Too Human,* "three thinkers succeed each other as follows: the first of them produces the vital juice and the seed; the second draws threads out of it and spins an artifical net; the third lies in that net waiting for the victims who get caught in it—and tries to make a living out of philosophy." This holds only of pure philosophy. It could never happen to religious gospels or political theories.

Instinct

"All politicians," said Paul Valéry, "have read history; but one might say that they read it only in order to learn from it how to repeat the same calamities all over again." The great French poet and philosopher was wrong. Most politicians have not read history. They play their parts by ear, so to speak, just as do statesmen and diplomats, whether or not they read Machiavelli.

Stupidity

"Stubborn and ardent clinging to one's opinion," says Montaigne, "is the best proof of stupidity." Not necessarily. In politics it sometimes turns out to be a long-range investment. For there is no idea too preposterous to be accepted by the masses sooner or later.

Counterclaims and Inhibitions

"To the true fundamentalist," a liberal journalist once wrote, "nothing presents any counterclaim comparing with spreading the doctrine. Nothing." Neither has a true politician or a true revolutionist any moral inhibitions if his career or his power is concerned. He calls it the supremacy of the nation's welfare over all other considerations.

Memory

In politics, they say, one forgets quickly. Which is all the easier as most of those concerned actually never understood what really happened.

Sentimentalism and Propaganda

"It is bad for a politician to be a sentimentalist," (*Lyrisches Empfinden macht schlechte Politiker*) said in substance Eduard Bernstein, "revisionist" theorist of the German socialist movement. But would he have denied that a professional sentimentalist is a good acquisition for the propaganda department?

Class Struggle

There is a beautiful partnership between the criminal underworld of racketeers and the law-enforcing upper world of grafters in the municipal administrations of many big cities. One should not wax indignant about it. After all, that method of fleecing the public is only a peculiar form of the class struggle waged by two associated groups of comparatively underprivileged parasites against the over-privileged big businessman who would like to monopolize all the fleecing for himself.

Names and Theories

Talleyrand is quoted as having said that it is the business of politicians to protect old institutions by means of new names. Modern revolutionists are of course different from politicians. It is their business to destroy old institutions and to invent beautiful theories masking the essential fact that what was actually achieved was merely a change of masters.

Democratic Rights

There is an organization in the United States called the "Committee for Democratic Rights." You guessed right: it is a "front" of those who have abolished all democratic rights in the larger part of the European and Asiatic continents.

Neckties

This is how—without intending to be funny—a correspondent of the *Party Builder*, the confidential bulletin of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., expressed his disappointment at the slow progress of the "movement" during the late 1930's: "I have been all over the United States and seen all kinds of street meetings and I am sure that the American people are peculiarly adapted to them. The cheapest swindler can sell everything from neckties to fortunes: the United States is the home of the traveling salesman and medicine man. Certainly the Communist Party should have better success with its outdoor meetings." The correspondent apparently forgot that in the opinion of the American worker even an overpriced imitation silk necktie is preferable to those neckpieces made of genuine hemp which have been the victorious Communists' most convincing political arguments after speechmaking at outdoor meetings had been given up as an unnecessary waste of time.

"Preparation of War"

Some followers of Freud would trace strikes, revolutions and race riots to an "unresolved Oedipus crisis." This harmless obsession bred by the spread of the Vien-

nese sage's gospel, has its less harmless counterpart in the stereotyped Communist explanation of every world event, such as a war between Bolivia and Paraguay, as a "preparation of war against the Soviet Union." There is, however, an essential difference between the nature of the interpretations given by the Freudians and those propounded by the Stalinists. The psychoanalysts actually believe their own stuff.

THE CROSS AND THE STAR

Mystery

Anatole France's hero, Jerome Coignard says, with the author's tongue in cheek, that the nobility of man resides exclusively in the incomprehensible mystery of having been redeemed by the blood of Christ and that "men, small or great, are by themselves nothing but ferocious and disgusting beasts." Similarly, Russia's Communism resides exclusively in the incomprehensible mystery of Lenin having chosen the word "communism" to designate a system characterized by an ever growing inequality of incomes—the very antithesis of the original notion of the term communism—while Communists, small or great, are by themselves nothing but actual or potential office-holders and slave-drivers.

Christianity and Communism

Religions of salvation lose their attractiveness if imposed by force. In Asia and Africa, Christianity is to the natives the religion of their ruthless masters; and so is Communism behind the Curtain to all those who were not born in its cage.

Freedom and Liberty

"Religious freedom," said Fulton J. Sheen, outstanding exponent of Catholic theology in the United States, "does not mean freedom to be anti-religious." Neither does "civil liberty" according to the exponents of Leninist

theology mean liberty to be anti-Communist in a country controlled by Communists.

Roads to Rome

Mussolini owed much of his wisdom to Lenin. The founder of Bolshevism borrowed his methods from Bakunin. The Father of Anarchism, in turn, was full of admiration for what he called "the power and vitality of the Jesuit order" with its "absolute extinction of the individual in the will of the community." All roads lead to Rome.

Ritual and Reality

According to Thomas Masaryk, "ritual and individual ritual practices, rather than the moral relationship between man and man, are the primary constituents of religion." The ritual of the new Russian state religion consists in reverently repeating certain socialist stock phrases, such as the "abolition of classes," "working class rule," and the "withering away of the State." They bear the same relation to Russia's totalitarian reality as do communist "internationalism" and "anti-imperialism" to the conquest of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the rest of Eastern and Central Europe.

Guardian Angels

"I pray for you, you work for me"—was the gist of the religious totalitarianism of the past. "You work for me, I protect you against those who want you to have a say about it"— is the gist of the political totalitarianism of today.

Incarnation

"We could never blame God for ceasing to love us after the fall of Adam and Eve," said the Very Rev. John Shields, Pastor of the St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Church in New York. "They disobeyed God and that ruined God's plan for the world. Then there opened a great chasm with God on one side and man on the other. Since the offense was infinite, only the Infinite Being could make atonement for it. Through love God sent His Son who,

through His humanity, could make atonement and bridge the chasm. That was the purpose of the Incarnation." There are about a million persons making a living by preaching that gospel. As an alternative to this faith mankind is offered the belief that Russia's police state is the incarnation of true democracy, that inequality of incomes is communism, and that the slave labor camps are the road to freedom.

Brothers Under the Skin

Religious heresy was the most heinous crime in the eyes of the clerical hierarchy of the medieval past. So is political non-conformity under the totalitarian regimes of the present. When it comes to the question of monopoly versus competition, the ultra-reactionary representatives of the age of faith and the ultra-revolutionary champions of the age of science turn out to be brothers under the skin.

Prayers

"One religion is as true as another," said the Russian Orthodox priest under his breath in quoting Robert Burton, when he offered his prayers for Stalin, the Emperor-God of Eurasia.

Eternal Recurrence

Late in the past century the Christian Socialist Emile Laveleye, in his *Socialisme Contemporain*, thus explained the inroads made among the masses by the radical ideas of socialism: "Christianity, which had introduced into the West ideas of equality and fraternity, at the same time enjoined patience and submission, saying to the oppressed: this life is only a period of probation; obey those in power; endure all privations without murmur, for they will be reckoned to you from above, where lies your real treasure. Iniquity triumphs on this earth; but the Kingdom of Heaven is the inheritance of those cast out here below. Thus the Gospel which, by arousing in all the thirst for justice, sowed the seeds of social revolution, at the same time averted the explosion by opening a prospect for

the oppressed of endless felicity beyond the tomb. Today, according as faith dies away, the people, ceasing to believe in these heavenly compensations, demand their share of happiness now." Today, Communism—where it has become the State religion—is duplicating the Christian technique of preaching patience and submission. Except that for the Kingdom of Heaven they have substituted the "higher phase of socialism" or "real communism" under which there will be Cadillacs, mink coats and country houses for everybody. It's only a question of a few score Five-Year Plans. But until that time comes these advantages will go only to the "most deserving"—just like the $10,000-and-up incomes in the capitalist world.

Good Hope

"A good hope is better than a poor possession."—This piece of Spanish popular wisdom has been the permanent stock-in-trade of all preachers and merchants of celestial and terrestrial Utopias.

Faith and Fact

After a visit to Russia Horace M. Kallen wrote: "Communism in Russia is as much a faith and as little a fact as Christianity in the United States. Communism is to the economic and social realities of Russia what Christianity is to the economic and social realities of the United States —very little more and no less." True, but in the United States it is at least possible to speak and to write about the contradiction between lip-service to Christianity and the "un-Christian" aspects of the country's politics and economics, while in the USSR it is strictly *verboten* even to allude to the essentially anti-communist aspect of the gross inequalities in the standard of living.

Dark Ages

There are those who speak of the close relationship between Christianity and Communism because at bottom both believe in human brotherhood. It is time to remind those innocents that immediately upon their triumph the representatives of the two gospels implemented their hu-

manitarian professions by inaugurating religious and political persecutions on a scale hitherto unknown either in the ancient or in the modern world.

THE POOR IN SPIRIT

Cruel Wisdom

"The poor always ye have with you"—the acceptance by the *poor* of this verdict as part of their gospel of *salvation* is the best evidence that its cruel wisdom is unassailable.

Cause and Effect

Because the progressives are not progressive enough the masses turn from the progressives to the—reactionaries. Or to "radical" totalitarians.

Bargains

The saint is so preoccupied with death that he foregoes the only life there is for the sake of a life eternal that exists only in his imagination. Similarly, the ultra-radical innocent is so incensed against the insecurity and inequality of the capitalist system that he is ready to forego the few liberties he enjoys for the sake of a "workers' rule" which is as real as the celestial bliss of the true believer.

Faith and Reason

"It is faith, not reason that moves mountains," said Mussolini in his conversation with Emil Ludwig. And, he added, "today people have less time than ever before to think. And their readiness to believe is incredible." Yes, they could believe in Italy that Il Duce would revive the Roman Empire with his subjects sitting on the back of the rest of the world. And there are many who still believe, at least outside the Iron Curtain, that Russia is a Workers' State.

Brain Power

"The slightly over two billion human brains in the

world," we read somewhere, "generate almost enough electricity to keep one ten-watt lamp lighted." Is mankind's inability to generate more light responsible for the ever renascent rule of bloody dictators and crooked politicians?

Illusory Beliefs

There are those who believe that, as somebody put it, "the welfare of humanity has always depended mainly upon the acceptance of illusory beliefs." They would be somewhat closer to the truth if they were to modify the somewhat optimistic character of their pessimistic proposition by saying that the welfare of the *privileged minority of the human race has always depended mainly upon the acceptance of illusory beliefs by the underprivileged majority.*

Courage and Wisdom

George Savile Halifax says in his *Maxims* that the masses are better able to understand courage than wisdom. That's why the names they best remember or most admire are those of outlaws like Jesse James, prizefighters like Jack Dempsey, and mass murderers like Napoleon, Hitler or Stalin. For in their minds, murder, even if committed by proxy, is always associated with the idea of courage.

Story of Mankind

"Men are so simple," says Machiavelli, "that he who seeks to deceive will always find some one who will allow himself to be deceived." All the deeper problems of politics seem to be turning around the question of whether the deception is to be carried on by self-appointed dictators or by periodically elected demagogues.

The Complicated and the Simple

"Truth is complicated," wrote the exiled German Liberal Koch-Weser, "the lie is simple. Instead of explaining inflation, they make the Jews responsible for it." It looks as if "they" are going to get away with such "explanations" until the end of time.

Fools and Crooks

Under the impact of the disappointments of the French Revolution and of the First Empire Benjamin Constant wrote that "the human race is born stupid and led by crooks." However, as an early champion of liberalism he was aware of the fact that it makes a difference whether the crooks are dictatorially self-imposed or elected on the basis of a democratic franchise.

THE ENRAPTURED

The Bitter Pill

There are honest and simple souls who to the end of their days will remain disinterested friends and admirers of the Kremlin regime in which they see the incarnation of mankind's noblest aspirations. They are like the "true believer" of whom Chamfort says that he "never examines the tenets of his faith; for they are like a bitter pill; if they are chewed, they cannot be swallowed."

Carrion vs Meat

There was a man who violently attacked the consumption of meat as most detrimental to health. When asked what he recommended instead, he suggested carrion. He was insane. There are many men who, having pointed out all the shortcomings of democracy, quite seriously recommend dictatorship.

Fans

Years ago there was a club in Vienna composed of girls whose aim in life was to buy flowers and to run errands for the divine prima donna, Maria Jeritza. On this side of the Ocean, there are savants of note who at any time would lend their good name for the defense of Stalin's mass executions, his shady deals with the fascist powers, and his territorial conquests. Their passion may be just as sincere as that of the silly girls of Vienna, but it is less amusing.

Purges—Good and Bad

In writing about the Russian "purges" of 1936-8, the editor of a pro-Soviet daily said that they *shot* ten innocent men in order to get one who was guilty. That judicial method did not seem to have dimmed his enthusiasm for the noble experiment. It is only the United States that is barbarous if it *discharges* from its service one out of ten men eager for the introduction of such judicial methods on this side of the Atlantic.

Transition

Idealist's progress: First, he wants communism because he wants freedom. Then he accepts slavery as a transition to full communism. And finally he justifies mass murder in order to secure smooth operation during that transitional period.

Black Samson

Some Negro intellectuals accept Stalinism as punishment to be inflicted upon the Whites for their infamous treatment of the pigmented section of mankind. Unfortunately, they forget that there were also innocent and decent Philistines under the ruins of the temple destroyed by Samson.

Admixture

Of the fellow travelers George Orwell said that their "genuinely progressive impulses are mixed up with admiration for power and cruelty." It so happens that this admixture plays the same havoc with their generous impulses as does a spoonful of pitch with a barrel of honey.

Enormous Harm

Not all "liberal" periodicals endorse every action of the Kremlin regime. Some of them balked at the execution of the Polish-Jewish Socialist leaders Alter and Ehrlich as "Nazi spies." Others disliked the kidnapping on American territory of a woman teacher of window-jumping fame. But these periodicals never branded such actions for what they really were. They could not afford the loss of the

bulk of their enraptured readers. They merely regretted them because the incidents "had done enormous harm to American-Soviet relations."

Mystery

"We're all hanging on here as long as we can," said Will Rogers, "I don't know why we hate to go, we know it's better there." We are apparently like the American fellow travelers who, too, hate to leave these shores, though they know it's better in the Soviet paradise.

Faith

Mencken speaks somewhere of mankind's "colossal capacity of believing the palpably not true." Outside of Russia there are educated men, not interned in homes for the feeble-minded, who believe the totalitarian slave labor state to be a "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Noble Sentiments

In his *Confessions of a Young Man,* George Moore frankly declares that he does not mind the sufferings of the slaves who built the pyramids as long as he can enjoy the sight of these monuments. Nor does the "liberal," four thousand miles away, mind the ten or twenty million victims of Stalin's man-made famines and forced labor camps, as long as it can be demonstrated that the manager and the office-holder can rule the country without taking orders from the financial and industrial tycoons.

Immortal Art

In a tale by Pierre Louys a great painter of the classical age buys an intelligent slave whom he tortures with fire in order to capture the expression of pain he wants to impart to his Prometheus. The cruelty of the artist becomes known and the indignant populace threatens his life. The painter calms the mob by showing his finished masterpiece which causes the people to forget his inhumanity. Enraptured, they pay homage to "immortal art." Some of those who today pay homage to the red or brown "waves of the future" may be excused on the

ground that they have seen neither the "immortal" achievements nor the means by which they were accomplished.

Prestige

There are those who are impressed by the presence of some glorious literary names among the apologists of the Brave New World behind the Iron Curtain. They might be reminded of the fact that Balzac, the immortal master of the novel, was the most despicable reactionary; that he glorified the instigators of the massacre of the Huguenots and denounced as "hypocrites" the writers who "bemoaned the fate of 200 [sic!] scoundrels killed at the proper time."

Modernity

Those who go into raptures over the modernity of model prisons would hardly choose the objects of their admiration for their own sojourn. Which explains why the American worshippers of rejuvenated Russia prefer to stay in decrepit America.

Correct Information

"No one ought to omit taking into account the difficulty of obtaining correct information upon any subject in a country where all sources of information were under the control of the government." Though penned by Marx, this observation will hardly be taken into account by the enraptured readers of *Soviet Communism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, who wrote nearly 2,000 pages on the basis of data supplied by the G.P.U., proving that Stalin was not a dictator and that the Soviet regime was a pure democracy.

THE TWO WAVES

The Same Cause

"History," wrote Jean Jaurès, "is a strange affray in which men who combat each other often serve the same cause." The Neo-Marxist Lenin and the ex-Marxist Mus-

solini were to supply incontrovertible proof of the correctness of these words of a man who died before either Fascism or Russian "Communism" had made their appearance.

Candor

"In all negative things we resemble each other. We and the Russians are opposed to liberals, democrats, parliaments.—Both in Russia and Italy it has been demonstrated that it is possible to govern outside, above and against all liberal ideas. Neither Communism nor Fascism has anything to do with liberty." (Mussolini.) The candor of these words may weigh heavily in favor of the Father of Fascism when History will pass judgment upon mankind's great criminals. Had Il Duce's life been spared, he might have by now just as candidly admitted that "in all positive things" such as national megalomania, imperialism, mass extermination, and anti-Semitism, Fascism and Communism likewise "resemble each other."

Divine Sadism

Outraged at that line in Homer in which the Gods decide "to destroy men so that it may be a song for future generations," Nietzsche writes: "Thus we suffer and perish so that poets should not be short of subject matter—and this is decreed by Homer's gods who seem to care very much about the amusements of the coming generations, but very little about us, who are alive now." The gods of our time, the dictators of all hues, seem to show the same interest in the future generations—which they identify with their own power and glory—at the expense of the now living.

Traditional Concepts

The Fascists fooled the rich into supporting them and thus giving them the power to cut their sponsors' throats—gradually. For the capitalists, to quote *Das Neue Tage-Buch*, "proceeded from the traditional concept that a revolution was always bound to be red." In other words, that it was bound to use exclusively the "proletarian" slogans

of Marxism. Hence they took it for granted that the anti-red vocabulary of Fascism was a guaranty of the safety of their investments. In a similar way the Communists fooled many well-meaning progressive intellectuals into supporting them and thus enabling them to destroy all political and cultural liberties dear to their sponsors. For these intellectuals proceeded from the traditional concept that radical revolutions are always bound to be progressive and that the radical vocabulary used by the Communists at the outset of their careers was a guaranty against tyranny and intolerance.

Death or Worse

A thinking man living under Fascism or Communism has the alternative of death or what polite ladies call a "fate worse than death."

Proletarian's Progress

In the pre-democratic systems the worker had the status of a slave or near-slave against whom force was used as the only argument. Under the democratic-capitalist system the status of the worker is that of a permanently fleeced free "contractor" selling his labor, against whom force is used only as a last resort. Under the post-democratic totalitarian systems—Fascism and "Communism"—serfdom and slave labor is restored, but the permanent threat and application of force are sugar-coated with flattery and indoctrination.

Secret of Success

Catering at the same time to man's justified grievances and to his lust for blood and power—that is the psychological secret of Communist and Fascist success.

"They"

"In a very few years they had risen from obscure journalists, labor agitators, soldiers, students, political and social nobodies, to the heads of the state." In this quotation "they" are not the Bolshevik conquerors of Russia. Professor Herbert Schneider, who wrote these words in

his *Making the Fascist State,* had in mind the followers of Mussolini.

Approach

The Fascist and Communist approach to the underdog: they promise the full dinner pail to the meek and the foreman's authority to the bully. They keep the second promise.

Self-Denigration

Jews and Negroes, Bolsheviks and Fascists have been known for the jokes they either make or used to make about themselves. There are those who tried to explain this phenomenon either by the "inferiority complex" or by the moral degradation of these groups. In reality this attitude is merely the cynicism engendered either by utter and hopeless defeat, as in the case of the Jews and the Negroes, or by the intoxication of a sudden overwhelming victory, as with the *early* Bolsheviks and Fascists. Only those who have enjoyed the blessings of a long unchanging status quo can afford the dignity and self-complacency that is not disturbed by any flashes of self-denigrating humor. Which holds not only for hereditary capitalist Babbitts, but also for totalitarian upstarts of at least ten years' standing—Fascists and Communists alike.

Friends and Agents

"The Nazis," an Indian Nationalist eager to collaborate with them against the British, complained, "treat even their best friends as mere agents." It is different with the Communists. Those naive souls who, out of real friendship, want to be something else than mere agents, are treated as their worst enemies.

Claims and Fears

Both Fascists and Communists claim that in the countries controlled by them the benefits bestowed upon the masses have won them the allegiance of the enormous majority of the population. Yet they are afraid lest the contrary opinion expressed by a non-party-lined editorial writer prove more effective than all those benefits.

Killing

"What is the use of killing your opponent," says the cannibal, "if you don't eat him?" "What is the use of having power," says the Communist or Fascist, "if you don't kill your opponent?"

Fascist Wile

"I believe," said Ben Gold, one of America's top Communist leaders, [that] "to overthrow a democratically elected government . . . is an act of gangsterism and fascism and not the belief of Communists." It is too bad that the "gangsters and fascists" who overthrew the "democratically elected government" of Czechoslovakia chose to call themselves Communists and thus to disgrace the good name of a party which does not believe in such methods.

Competition

There was not much love lost between the Catholic witch-burners and their Protestant counterparts. That age-old rift within the Christian world is duplicated by a similar disharmony between the Fascist and the Communist brands of Totalitarianism.

Bastards

Fascism is the illegitimate offspring of Bolshevism and, like all illegitimate children, it hates its father.

Scratch

A century ago they used to say "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar." Today it is more appropriate to say "Scratch a Communist and you find a Fascist"—or vice versa.

Realism vs Romanticism

After purging Heinz Neumann, who in the early 1930's had been the brains of German Communism, his Moscow purgers sent his widow to a slave camp where she spent three years. During the Berlin-Moscow Pact period (1939-41) she was delivered to the Nazis for further disposal. The description of her experiences in the red and brown slave labor camps gave in a nutshell the actual difference

between Hitlerism and Stalinism. The Nazi food rations were better, but the prisoners were beaten, living all the time in the expectation of sudden death. There were, as a rule, neither beatings nor assassinations in the Soviet camps; the prisoners were merely slowly starved and worked to death. It was the modern realism of Communism as against the medieval romanticism of the Nazis.

Interpretation

"If you want to live you must serve; if you want to be free you must die." The Fascist and Communist disciples of Hegel have given this originally harmless sentence of their teacher a somewhat too literal interpretation.

Reality

When it comes to the political and economic substance of their regimes, the difference between Fascist and Communist ideologies does not amount to more than the difference in their vocabularies and in their methods of capital punishment.

Old Dreams and New Techniques

Renan and Nietzsche were dreaming of the rule of an intellectual aristocracy equally contemptuous of the semi-civilized money-grabbers and of the unwashed workers. They were no politicians and their idea remained a philosopher's dream. More practical thinkers who consciously or unconsciously nourished the same aristocratic dream realized that the price of their power was flattering the underdog and arousing him against the rich. Their success in Russia put the old masters the world over on the alert. The next attempt at a similar seizure of power made by a competing group of "outs" succeeded in employing a different technique. They used the Red bogey and promised to protect the capitalist pig against those who wanted to roast it along with the barn. There are some capitalists who are still deceived about the real purpose of the fascist game.

Monopoly vs Private Enterprise

Totalitarian regimes are much better at eradicating crime than democracies. Mussolini practically wiped out the Camorra of Naples and the Maffia in Sicily. Hitler in Germany and Stalin in Russia have achieved similar results. Private enterprise and private monopoly—even in crime—apparently stand no chance where violence, murder and fleecing the public become an exclusive government monopoly.

Inferior and Similar

"It is the secret wish of every man," said Jules Lemaître in *En Marge des Vieux Livres,* "that all others should be at the same time inferior and similar to him." Written at a time when both Lenin and Mussolini were still very young and obscure would-be Robespierres and Caesars, these words gave in a nutshell the psychology of totalitarianism, whether in its "proletarian" or its nationalist guise.

Superiority

Bernard Shaw once said that those radical bohemians who think themselves above bourgeois morality are usually way below it. Similarly the Soviet-Russian and Nazi-German examples have demonstrated that the "higher form of democracy" of the totalitarian radicals ranks even lower than the Bourbon and Romanov brand of despotism.

Rationale

At the outset of their career the Bolsheviks believed, or pretended to believe, that the common man was democratic at heart. The Fascists concluded from the easy victory of th Bolshevik minority that the masses were servile and ready to accept any new aristocracy which displaces the old. Hence, Communism suppressed political liberty, democratic elections, and independent organizations in the name of the democratic principle of proletarian emancipation, while Fascism and Nazism did the same thing in the name of the aristocratic principle of the elite.

Myth and Reality

"We have created our myth," said Mussolini. "The myth is a faith and a passion. It is not necessary that it should be a reality." The Communists, too, have created a myth which is a faith and a passion with the underprivileged. And as for the last two thousand years the Christian masses have not insisted upon the myth of brotherly love and salvation becoming a reality, the creators of the new myth seem to be justified in expecting the same tactful attitude from their followers.

Privilege and Sacrifice

The old aristocracies of birth and wealth have no compunctions in admitting that their status is a privilege. The new self-made elites of Fascism and Communism call their privileged status a duty and a sacrifice to the people.

BRAVE NEW WORLD

The Gist of Communism

The essence of Soviet "Communism" has been epitomized in a popular Russian saying to the effect that "the land is ours, but the grain is theirs; the rivers are ours, but the fish are theirs; the factories are ours, but the goods are theirs." There is another saying which just as succinctly presents the political aspects of Russia's new freedom: "If you think, don't speak! If you speak, don't write! If you write, don't publish! If you publish, recant immediately!" This latter admonition might be amplified by this addition: "If you hear this story, don't repeat it, even to your best friend—he may be an informer."

Spilling the Beans

Time was when Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times* during the 1920's and 1930's, was a great favorite with the comrades and the fellow travelers because of his sometimes ultra-rosy reports about Russian conditions. Eventually, however, he in-

curred the anger of the comrades when, trying hard to impress his middle-class readers with the neo-bourgeois character of the Soviet system, he unwittingly pricked the most valuable propaganda bubble concerning the alleged "working class" character of the regime. "This very differentiation of wages," he wrote, "by consequences of rewards for service must lead to a new class differentiation in what claims to be a classless society, a new class of bureaucrats and directors of state enterprises, a new class of high paid upper workers, all of whom together will form, or are forming, a new bourgeoisie."

Survivals of Capitalism

"It will be necessary to combat the survivals of capitalism in the very soul of man," said a French Communist paper in discussing some shortcomings of the Russian millennium. Considering that the Communist "soul" so easily swallowed the Russian purges and the Soviet-Nazi pact, the "survivals of capitalism" will have no difficulty in surviving.

Aberration

As a measure of economy, the Soviet authorities would, from time to time, reduce their administrative staffs and send their supernumerary white-collar men to "productive labor." By a strange aberration and misconception of their own interests these lucky birds who thus became the "owners" of the country's industries never appreciated the windfall which raised their social status to that of the "ruling class."

Explosives

The Russian Revolution did not establish uniformity. Not all of Russia's war prisoners are used as manure for Siberia's industrialization. Some, properly indoctrinated, are employed as explosives for blowing up their native countries.

Best Disciple

According to one of the clichés of Soviet adulation, Stalin was Lenin's best disciple. Russia's strong man

achieved that honorary degree as a result of a specific process of elimination which demonstrated that he was not only the best disciple but also the only one miraculously to outlive them all.

Ingeniousness

The divine veneration of Lenin's mummy has been interpreted by many observers as the substitution of one religion for another. In reality, however, as the Communists put it, "they [the Communists] show everyone the actual dead body to disprove any such supernatural superstition." In other words, Lenin was mummified and his mausoleum was converted into a shrine in order to put a stop to the divine veneration which the masses were forced to give him—spontaneously.

Insolence

A Mohammedan Communist in Soviet Central Asia got into trouble because he believed that, as a member of the Central Executive Committee, he had the right to kill ten men. The poor wretch apparently forgot that there are constitutional liberties in the U.S.S.R., and that killing without trial was the exclusive prerogative of the G.P.U. headquarters in Moscow.

The Armor

To Russia's indoctrinated workers the G.P.U.-N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. is "the armor of the proletariat." "These are my brass-knuckles," said the prisoner, looking at his handcuffs.

Statistics

The statistical abstracts of the Soviet Union contain no figures about those confined to prisons or similar institutions, nor about those who were executed or committed suicide. The overthrow of the capitalist system has apparently done away with all such symptoms of a barbaric past.

Bees and Bolsheviks

Soon after the Russian Revolution the bee was frequently referred to as the "Bolshevik" among the animals,

because the workers of that insect species were in the habit of killing the drones. The further development of Russia's so-called Communism, has shown that the exterminated capitalist drones had been merely supplanted by a more numerous swarm of bureaucratic superdrones.

Translation

"Union of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class" stands for "Totalitarian despotism of the administrative, managerial and military oligarchy."

Central Fact

"It always takes a considerable time to see the simple and central fact about anything," said Chesterton in his *Utopia for Usurers*. It took more than three decades before it began to dawn upon a rather limited section of the educated that modern "Communism," for all its "proletarian" verbiage and millennial promise, meant hardly more than the substitution of the office-holder for the capitalist.

Saintliness and Health

"My health does not permit me to become a saint," were the characteristic words of a Catholic priest, quoted derisively by Leon Bloy, French novelist and Catholic fanatic to boot, who was at war with the whole world—including the hierarchy of his own Church. Their health and their prestige similarly prevented the Communist champions of a classless society from sharing in the privations of the masses following the great upheaval that ushered them into office.

Tragedy and Conflict

There are thinkers who are opposed to Utopia because it would eliminate the element of tragedy and conflict—the basis of all great art. They should look at the Russian "Utopia" where all great art has been practically eliminated, even though the element of tragedy and conflict, so dear to them, has been multiplied a hundredfold.

Copying

In one of his novels Stendhal said that while the Russians were copying French customs, they did it always at a distance of fifty years. And that in his time their model was the epoch of Louis XV. The Russians have had a change of heart since that time. They no longer imitate the "decaying West." As good internationalists they have turned to their own glorious past. Their models now are Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, with a dash of Genghis Khan thrown in.

Belief and Desire

"We believe," said Demosthenes, "whatever we want to believe." And we want to believe that which we desire. Hence so many dissatisfied workers outside the Curtain believe that Soviet Communism means equality, while just as many malcontent intellectuals are convinced that it means the rule of the man of science. And they will reject as vile slander the notion that it means the rule of the bureaucrat, the army officer and the secret police.

Except For. . .

An advertisement in a book catalogue carried the item "Lady Chatterley's Lover, by D. H. Lawrence. Unexpurgated, except for the obscene passages." Similarly, one may speak of the present system in Russia as the realization of the equalitarian and libertarian ideal of human happiness, except for the incessantly growing inequality of incomes and the complete absence of political liberty.

Evil Hypnotism

The absence of any criticism, of any demand for a fundamental change in Soviet Russia was explained by Earl Browder, former top leader of the American Communist Party, by the fact that "there is nobody there who wants it changed," and that "the one million who are still dissatisfied with the regime," are of no account. Yet that one million of expropriated, dispossessed ex-millionaires and ex-noblemen are apparently endowed with such a

hypnotic power over the 199,000,000 happy and contented Soviet citizens that they have to be deprived of any opportunity of expressing their opinion, lest those happy people be immediately seized by an insane desire to overthrow their own beloved government in order to return to capitalist slavery.

Lenin's Warning

Lenin once said that it was always necessary to "watch what any given ideology leads to." Well—his led to the purges, to the assassination of Alter and Erlich, to the slave labor camps and to the conquest and subjection of half of Europe and half of Asia.

Black is White

According to good capitalist theory, "the maintenance of wages at a level that is too high, by adding to the cost of production and by depressing industrial activity, is in reality reducing rather than increasing the purchasing power of the working population." According to good Communist theory, free speech, by encouraging counter-revolution, actually leads to the loss of liberty.

Classless Society

In Russia, they say, some good-natured commissars used to celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of a classless society by tipping the waiters more generously on November 7. That was during the first decade of the Workers' Republic. Since that time the classless society has made enormous advances. True, the difference between the incomes of the waiters and those of the office-holders has increased. But tipping has been abolished.

Communist History

"How about the story of your life?" is the girl's question in a modern play. "Oh no," is the man's answer. "It is too long and mostly untrue." A survivor of the Moscow purges did not laugh when he heard that one. He was reminded of Stalin's *History of the Communist Party of the USSR.*

Disenchantment

In Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate*, two sinners who had just been executed work harder than ever to "jimmy" their way through the gate of Heaven. At last the door yields. But the Heaven they expected to enter is nothing but an endless empty space. That playlet was not written as a lampoon on those honest souls who, during their pilgrimage to the Promised Land of the Soviets dodged the vigilance of their guides and found nothing but endless slums and slave labor camps.

Radical Difference

"Soviet parliamentarism, a parliamentarism of a special type," wrote the theoretical organ of the Russian Communist Party, "radically and fundamentally differs from bourgeois parliamentarism." No doubt, just as a group of appointed yes-men differs radically and fundamentally from a regularly elected legislature.

Author and Finisher

"I am the author and finisher of the atomic energy," said Father Divine in a sermon printed in his newspaper *The New Day*. "We have invented and discovered everything from the steam engine to Wallace's hybrid corn," said Uncle Joe through the thousands of newspapers at his disposal.

The New Freedom

Those in full agreement with the government may say anything the government wants them to say.

Dangerous Linguistics

"Speech," an American pro-Stalinist quarterly wrote in summing up the views of the Soviet scholar N. Y. Marr, "closely conected with magic practices . . . was used to keep those who did not possess it in subservience. Speech is still used as an instrument by the ruling class to a far greater extent than is generally realized." This was accepted as good Marxist-Leninist linguistics since the early 1920's. It was not until 1950 that Marr's ideas were offi-

cially repudiated by Stalin, when it dawned upon the dictator that some of his subjects might be tempted to apply that linguistic theory not only to the feudal and capitalist past, and that, for all he knew, Marr might have been pulling the leg of Russia's new privileged minority. Marr was not arrested. He was prudent enough to die several years before he was unmasked.

Glad Tidings

During his stay in Vienna the composer Rossini wanted to hear a beautiful German song. So the band offered him *Freut euch des Lebens* (Rejoice in Life). It was not lost on him, and in his opera *Semiramis* it was to become the motif of the queen's song *mourning* the death of her husband. Lenin and Stalin heard the glad tidings of human emancipation as promised by Socialism. And they made of it the doctrinal foundation of their slave state.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. KARL

The Manager

It is one of the basic tenets of Marxism that the substitution of government ownership of industries for private ownership will put an end to the exploitation of man by man and enable the workers to come into their own. This beautiful idea has been put into the proper focus by the following statement made in 1949 by Dr. Heinrich Dinkelbach, Financial Director of the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke* (United Steel Works) of the Ruhr District: "I don't care whether I manage a private concern in which the stockholders have little to say or a socialized concern in which the people have little to say."

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Shortly before his death, having lost all hope that his own organization would succeed in organizing an international revolution and in establishing a dictatorship of the "International Brothers," Michael Bakunin, the founder

of the revolutionary anarchist movement, delivered the following blast at the "proletarian dictatorship" idea of his teacher and rival Karl Marx: "They [Marx and his friends] will concentrate the reins of government in a strong hand, because the ignorant people are in need of a quite firm guardianship. They will establish a single State Bank that will cencentrate in its hands all commercial-industrial, agricultural and even scientific production; and the mass of people will be divided into two armies, the industrial and the agricultural, which will be under the direct command of government engineers who will constitute a new privileged scientific political class." To Marx this prediction of his rival was a preposterous "fancy." Less than half a century after his and Bakunin's death it became a nightmarish reality for Russia and later for one third of the globe.

Human Bondage

In his *Two Pages from Roman History* the founder of the De Leon brand of Marxism in the United States, to illustrate the origin of human bondage, tells the story of how the horse, to get protection against the lion "entered into a compact with man. According to the agreement the man mounted the horse and by their joint efforts the lion was laid low. But never again could the horse rid himself of the man on his back." To Daniel De Leon this story carried no pessimistic implications as to the permanent subjection of the toiling masses to their ever changing feudal, capitalist or bureaucratic masters. In his opinion the horse, that is, the worker, would achieve his freedom as soon as he threw off the capitalist politician and the crooked labor leader, to place instead on his back the gentle, philanthropic, labor-loving, truly Marxist riders of Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party.

Hero and History

It would seem that the role of the individual in the shaping of the world's destinies is not quite so small as most Marxists believe, if one considers that possibly

thirty million people lost their lives because of the ambitions of a paranoiac and of a would-be Caesar ruling Germany and Italy, respectively.

Inequality—Unjust and Just

In 1920, Otto Bauer, outstanding theorist of the democratic wing of Marxism, wrote that "the most fundamental and powerful driving force of socialism is the revolt against economic inequality." Sixteen years later he wrote that "socialism is not equalization . . . It levels society by abolishing the classes, thus removing the privileges deriving from descent or property. But it differentiates society by rewarding those whose achievements for society are particularly outstanding, and by raising them above the masses in matters of income and social prestige." In other words, the Marxist sees, and rebels against, economic inequality exemplified by the high income received by the private owner of the factory. But he sees no "inequality" and no justification for revolt if a very high income is garnered by the manager of a state factory.

Determinism

"German scientific socialism, the only scientific socialism that ever existed," says Friedrich Engels in the preface to his *German Peasant War*, "would have never come into existence if it had not been for German philosophy and particularly Hegel's philosophy which preceded it." As both Lenin and Mussolini would have been unthinkable without Marx, just as Marx would have been unthinkable without Hegel, one gasps at the idea of how overpopulated the world would now be if Hegel's mother had had a miscarriage. However, one is reassured by the realization that a universe without Hegel, or an equivalent substitute, is just as unthinkable as a universe in which, as someone put it, Mr. Hylan was not, at one time, Tammany Mayor of New York.

Painful Shock

"The will forbids the intellect," says Schopenhauer, "[to hit upon] certain ideas; it prevents the rise of cer-

tain lines of thought . . . in order to prevent painful and shameful shocks." Which may be the key to Marx's reluctance to face the possibility of a new class rule by office-holders in a non-capitalist system, a possibility which was pointed out to him by his disappointed and disenchanted disciple and rival, Bakunin. For an analysis of this kind would have given a "painful or shameful shock" to the self--righteousness with which Marx identified the seizure of power by his would-be office-holding followers with the "emancipation of the working class."

The Veil

"That beauty is sweetest," says a Spanish proverb, "which a veil hides." That's why the more circumspect "scientific" prophets of the "classless" bliss are very careful not to be too specific about the distribution of the good things of life "on the morrow after the Revolution."

Science vs. Religion

Now they have the sacred scriptures of Marx, of which not a word must be doubted; they have the divine mummified relics of Lenin; the Holy Inquisition of the G.P.U.-N.K.V.D.-M.V.D.; the public recantations like those of the Dark Ages; and a very well-fed army of theologians and apologists parading as "theoreticians." They call it "scientific socialism."

Shareholders and Co-Owners

The Marxist always insists that it is sheer hypocrisy on the part of the apologists of the status quo to include the millions of small share-holders among the country's capitalists for the purpose of proving the wide diffusion of private property. But the same Marxist "forgets" his own argument the moment a government run by his own comrades takes over all industries. Then even the lowest paid laborer becomes "co-owner of the nation's wealth" jointly with the well-paid—in fact, very well paid—manager and office-holder.

Believer's Distress

"In the Gospel according to Matthew," Flaubert wrote in his *Temptation,* "the announcing angel appears to Joseph, while according to Luke he appears to Mary. According to the first gospel Jesus is anointed by a woman at the beginning of his public life, while according to the three other gospels this occurred a few days before his death. The drink offered him on the cross is according to Matthew, vinegar with bile, while according to Mark it is wine and myrrh. According to Luke and Matthew the apostles are not permitted to carry either money or a bag or even sandals and a staff; according to Mark, however, Jesus forbids them to take anything except sandals and a staff. I am lost!" A similar feeling, no doubt, now and then overcomes those devout Marxists who believe in every word written by the Teacher; who base their justification of dictatorship upon certain passages found in his writings, and who are baffled by no less authentic statements according to which Marx accepted in principle the idea of a gradual transition to socialism, through compensation of the capitalists, in such democratic countries as England, Holland and the United States.

Gospels for the Underdog

Thousands of German socialist agitators, journalists, politicians, and trade union organizers were trying hard to understand the gospel of Marxism, the often incomprehensible foundation of their faith. Before they succeeded, they were overwhelmed by the merchants of a new creed which even a village idiot could understand.

Stepping Stones

"At best," says the Viennese philosopher and satirist Karl Kraus, "psychoanalysis can be used for unmasking the psychoanalyst." Marxism can serve the same purpose with regard to the "practical" politician and revolutionist who uses the vocabulary of the author of *Das Kapital* as a stepping stone for his own elevation to the ranks of the privileged.

Caligula

The mad Emperor Caligula had his edicts fastened at such a height that his subjects were unable to read them and therefore feared and respected him all the more. Is the style of Marx and of his disciples part and parcel of the same game?

Baseness

"The human race," said Marx, "becomes the master of nature, but man becomes the slave of man or the slave of his own baseness." This, however, holds true only until the moment when power is seized by Marx's true disciples who will liquidate all dissenters and thus put an end to human baseness.

Workers All!

According to Marx, once the government takes over the industries, everybody becomes a "worker," whether he receives the low pay of a laborer or the fabulous emoluments of an expert. To millions of horny-handed toilers behind the Iron Curtain this fable of harmony between the rich and the poor is dished out as a gospel of equality.

Phrases and Notions

In his *Eighteenth Brumaire* Karl Marx wrote that "as in private life a distinction is made between what a man thinks of himself and says, and what he really is and does, so, all the more must the phrases and notions of parties in historic struggles be distinguished from their real organism and their real interests, and their opinions of themselves must be distinguished from what they really are." Neither the author of that really profound thought nor his disciples have ever been either able or willing to make that necessary "distinction" between the proletarian "phrases and notions" of the Marxist parties and "their real interests" which prompt them to establish themselves as the office-holding elite after the elimination of the capitalists.

"The Work of the Working Class Itself"

According to one of Marx's famous phrases, "the

emancipation of the working class can only be the work of the working class itself." Provided, of course, it follows the leadership of those of its members who are brainier and smarter than the rest of the "working class." A class which includes not only uneducated wage workers but also educated salaried men. All of which means that, to effect his emancipation, the underdog will have to raise to power those college-bred intellectuals and self-educated ex-workers who have become either professional politicians or professional revolutionists. One would, however, hardly find in Marx's writings an unequivocal indication that this was the real meaning of that famous slogan. For, as Professor Arthur Livingstone put it, literary men do not like to be clear, on the whole; otherwise many of their schools, problems and structures would vanish in smoke.

Yet for All That—

The author pays homage to the memory of Karl Marx and of the heretical Marxist Michael Bakunin from whom, in his youth, he learned the joy of faith and enthusiasm. But he owes a still greater debt to their disenchanted disciples Waclaw Machajski and Robert Michels who later taught him the sadness of skepticism and understanding.

TRAGICOMOEDIA HUMANA

Motto

In Heinrich Heine's words "the world is a big stable which cannot be cleaned out as easily as the stalls of Augeas. For while the cleaning is going on the oxen remain inside piling up fresh dung all the time." There is more political wisdom in this sad reflection than in a thousand volumes about how to change the world.

The Breed of Swine

In Eugene O'Neill's *The Iceman Cometh* a disenchanted

radical speaks of "the breed of swine called men in general." That phrase called forth a violent denunciation on the part of the Communists. To the professional comrades who—if they are not Jews—have no reason to be disenchanted—men are not a "breed of swine," but a herd of sheep to be shorn and of oxen to be worked to death.

The Apostles

Woe to the apostle of new truths. He will be either mistreated by his enemies or misunderstood by his admirers.

The Permanent Chasm

Revolutions, ideologies, leaders come and go. But the chasm between the haves and the have-nots, and the "knows" and the "know-nots" remains.

Idealists and Realists

A radical who believes in personal integrity, decency and consistency has as much chance with a dissatisfied crowd harangued by a Fascist or Communist rabble-rouser as has a freethinker with an illiterate mob promised salvation by an eloquent merchant of eternal bliss.

Exceptions

In every rebel there slumbers both the desire for freedom and the lust for power. In every poor man there is both the craving for justice and the hope to get rich at the expense of his brothers in poverty. There are exceptions. They have contributed as much to changing the pattern of history as the saints and martyrs have to changing the character of the Church.

The Horns of Utopia's Dilemma

The prospective dwellers of a socialist Utopia are torn between the two contradictory and equally defensible principles of the "right to the full product of one's labor," and "everybody's right to an equal share in the good things of life." The former reestablishes under a new social form the advantages which the stronger or the more gifted has always enjoyed over the weaker. The

latter postulates an altruism which is not in man's nature. From which it looks as if Utopia is going to remain—Utopia.

Reform or Rule?

Shortly before his death, Clarence Darrow said that "at twenty a man wants to reform the world. When he is seventy-nine he still wants to reform the world, but he knows he can't." The young men of twenty have changed since that time. They do not want to reform the world. They want to rule it.

Beasts of Burden

"The ancient free proletarians," says Karl Kautsky in his *Foundations of Christianity* "were just as indifferent to the sufferings of the slaves in the mines and plantations as they were to those of the beasts of burden." Is it for this reason that the majority of the human race has to this day remained a herd of beasts of burden?

Retribution

There is a Russian popular proverb about the soup being the better the harder you beat your wife. One almost wonders whether the Russian peasants' old slavery under the feudalism of the past and their new enslavement under the pseudo-communism of the present has not been fate's retribution to a people capable of producing and accepting such gems of wisdom.

To the End of Time

"Pull, boys, pull," sings the Chinese ricksha man, "the heavy stranger has money, but we have none. If we had money, we would make him pull us." With this unkillable philosophy the poor man will pull to the end of time.

In His Image

Children gibe at cripples, grown-ups at dissidents, foreigners, the darker-skinned and all those who in some respect are less fortunate. Otherwise there is nothing wrong with the human race.

Human

"It is human," said Tacitus, "to hate those whom we have injured." Those Americans who hate or despise the Jews, the Indians, the Mexicans and the Negroes are very human indeed.

American Paradox

There are freedom-loving Americans who show their dislike for the institution of slavery by refusing equal treatment to the descendants of its victims.

Pogroms and Gas Chambers

The untrained dog eats the game he catches. The trained dog brings it to the hunter. It seems to make very little difference to the game.

Condescension

The time may come when the chastened descendants of the German master race will shed their prejudices against the Jews. But will the day ever come when the sons and daughters of the surviving German Jews will condescend to treat the Polish and Russian Jews as their equals?

Perpetuum Mobile

"From force to injustice there is only one step," says Condorcet. But what if the great injustices, such as totalitarian tyranny, can be eliminated only by force?

Cynic and Skeptic

There is an essential difference between the cynic and the skeptic, even though there is a close similarity in their conclusions on matters political. The skeptic feels that at bottom he can do little against the basic pattern of man's inhumanity to man, even though he admits the possibility of its mitigation. The cynic actually enjoys the ever recurring spectacle of human meanness.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE DICTIONARY

DREAMS — The stock in trade of psychoanalysts who explain them and of politicians who sell them.

IDIOT — In its original Greek usage, "an ordinary or lay person, one not holding office." From this it came to mean an uneducated or feebleminded individual, or one who holding office resists temptation.

MARTYR — One who did not live long enough to inflict on others the fate that befell him.

POLITICIAN — A minor statesman who prefers the certain pleasures of a bank account to the uncertain delights of immortality.

REVOLUTIONIST — 1. A politician with a gun. 2. A gangster with a philosophy. 3. A dreamer bent upon martyrdom, who supplies the myth for the maintenance of the new status quo created by the politician and the gangster.

SCIENCE — What, according to Gustave Le Bon, is created by reason, while "sentiments and creeds shape history." It is different in New Russia. There sentiments, creeds and political expediency create science as well.

COMMENTS ON THE AUTHOR'S PREVIOUS WORKS

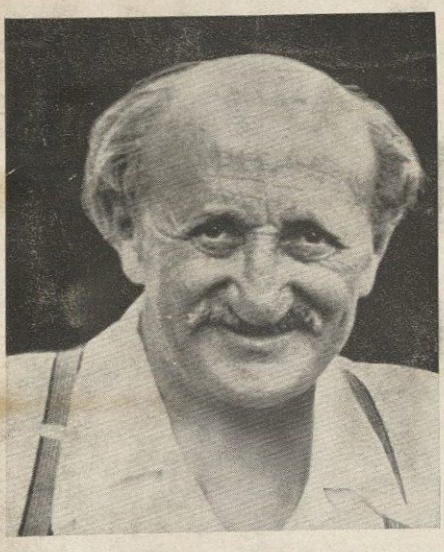
APOSTLES OF REVOLUTION (1939)

BERTRAND RUSSELL: "The book is valuable, both for its information and for its wisdom." *Chicago Daily News.*

REBELS AND RENEGADES (1932)

LEWIS GANNETT: "Eight sharply sketched portraits that are almost histories of revolt in eight countries." N. Y. *Herald Tribune.*

(Printed by Helenson Press, N. Y. C.)



MAX NOMAD, a native of Austria, showed his wisdom four decades ago when, on the eve of World War I, he left Turkey and crossed the Atlantic. Before landing his first American job as a six-dollar-a-week office-boy and correspondent in six languages, he had been in turn a law student, typesetter, translator, metal worker, proofreader, teacher of languages, journalist and editor.

For many years, prior to World War I, an active participant in, or observer of, left-wing movements in Poland, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Russia, England, France, Italy and Turkey, he was — without ever joining the Communist Party — in sympathy with the Bolshevik Revolution in its early stage. An employee of the Soviet Union Information Bureau in Washington during the 1920's, he became thoroughly acquainted with, and repelled by, the methods used by former "outs" who at last had become successful "ins."

A free-lance writer since the late 1920's, he became during the 1930's widely known as the author of *Rebels and Renegades* (Macmillan, 1932) and *Apostles of Revolution* (Little, Brown, 1939) — books which have become required reading in many universities.

A recipient of the Guggenheim Fellowship (1937), he has been since 1945 a lecturer in politics and history at New York University and the New School for Social Research.